

סדרת אלון

The Jerusalem Post

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# THE JERUSALEM POST

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**Pocketing the wages of war**

8-page pullout

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## State protests to PA over soldier's abduction

**By ARHER O'SULLIVAN**

Israel has officially protested to the Palestinian Authority for abducting an IDF Beduin tracker, interrogating him for two days in Gaza and trying to recruit him into the PA security services.

The soldier, Sgt.-Maj. Juma Azazma, 20, of Rahat, was abducted while visiting his wife's family in the Gaza Strip, a move which violates IDF regulations. During the visit over the Muslim holiday of Id al-Fitr, agents from Mohammed Dahalan's security service detained him and held him for two days of interrogation, the army said.

However, Palestinian security agents denied they tried to recruit him as a spy and charged they were questioning him on suspicion he was spying on the PA for Israel.

Palestinian security agents have tried and sometimes succeeded in the past to recruit Palestinian collaborators as informants into their ranks, but this is the first reported case in which they tried to recruit a soldier.

According to the IDF, Azazma entered the Gaza Strip on February 9, dressed in civilian clothes, as part of a group of Israeli Arabs allowed to visit the PA area for Id al-Fitr. A day later, he was detained in Rafiah and interrogated by Palestinian security agents, the IDF said.

As soon as word reached Israel of his detention, the IDF demanded his interrogation be halted and he immediately be returned to Israel. The Palestinians released him on February 11 and he was taken into custody by Israeli security agents for debriefing. He told his Israeli interrogators the Palestinians sought information on base locations and radio code words, Israel Radio said. The soldier reportedly did not reveal any sensitive information.

"This is a great exaggeration," said Rahid Abu Shabak, deputy head of Gaza's security police. "We saw him loitering in Rafiah. We detained him for questioning and it turned out he was an Israeli soldier."

"We suspected he was being used as an agent or spy for Israel since he was dressed as a civilian," Shabak said, adding Azazma was released after a few hours.

"Now [Azazma] is a great hero claiming we tried to get him to work for us. That is a lie. We don't recruit Israeli soldiers as spies. That's a joke," Shabak said.

Following Azazma's release, the IDF issued a grave protest to the Palestinians over the incident. OC Southern Command Maj.-Gen. Shlomo Yana'i also issued instructions reiterating that IDF soldiers are barred from visiting the Gaza Strip.

## Levy upbeat as talks resume

**By DAVID MAKOVSKY and Ilim**

Israel and the Palestinian Authority launched negotiations near Jerusalem yesterday evening aimed at broadening Palestinian self-rule in the territories.

The ceremonial opening, which consisted of speeches by Foreign Minister David Levy and PA senior negotiator Mahmoud Abbas, at the Kibbutz Ma'aleh Habamisha guest center west of Jerusalem, was described by participants as "amicable." Both Levy and Abbas expressed optimism that the ensuing eight parallel sets of negotiations on security and civilian matters would be resolved amid goodwill.

A one-on-one meeting between the two followed the opening ceremony.

"The two sides have taken upon themselves to uphold the agreements amid reciprocity and responsibility and to create an atmosphere that is conducive to the peace process," Levy said after the meeting.

Despite the optimism amid general agreement that each set of talks should be held twice a week, concrete dates were not set yesterday to deal with the key Hebron pullback follow-up issues: the establishment of a Palestinian airport and sea port in Gaza and safe passage for Palestinians between Gaza and the West Bank.

Israel's concern in those talks is security, and it aims for provisions to prevent the smuggling of weapons into the territories or people into Israel.

The IDF will head the Israeli team for the airport and sea port, while the Internal Security Ministry will head talks on safe passage between the West Bank and Gaza, Foreign Ministry officials say.

One novel panel scheduled to be launched is "people to people." It is intended to increase encounters between different segments of Israeli and Palestinian societies.

Two panels addressing ongoing issues are to meet today in Jerusalem. One is dealing with the



Foreign Minister David Levy (left) gestures to chief Palestinian negotiator Mahmoud Abbas to take his place at the table, as a new round of talks on implementing the Oslo Accords got under way yesterday at Kibbutz Ma'aleh Habamisha. (Reuters)

run several of the key panels.

Indeed, officials say they are confused by the differing titles on the Israeli side.

After yesterday's session, Levy declared that he and Abbas would meet monthly so as to supervise the different panels. However, it remains unclear what authority Levy will wield since the Palestinian track largely has been run out of the Prime Minister's Office. Furthermore, the IDF is to

aid Ya'acov Bardugo has been named co-coordinator. Levy himself is called head of the steering committee, a title that some describe as honorific.

To add to the confusion, the person who is considered the dominant Israeli negotiator on the Palestinian track is attorney Yitzhak Molcho, a friend of Netanyahu's.

Molcho headed the Hebron talks and officials say he will head the crucial talks on the final disposition of the territories which begin next month and are scheduled to conclude in May 1999.

The next big date on the Palestinian track is March 7, when Israel is slated to stage the first of three additional pullbacks in the West Bank that are to be completed by the middle of next year.

## Direct to Israel, via Nairobi

**By HANM SHAPIRO**

Normally airline passengers are only too willing to complain when flights are diverted or delayed, but there was nary a peep from the 380 passengers on El Al's flight 0A2 from Bombay yesterday, when the flight was diverted to Nairobi and arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport over four hours late.

El Al spokesman Nachman Klieman said the flight was diverted after a 24-year-old woman, an arriving new immigrant from India, took ill. A doctor among the passengers and several army medics who came to her aid found that she was six months pregnant and had a history of heart problems.

The aircraft was four-and-a-half hours from Tel Aviv, and the doctor determined that if she had to wait that long, there was a danger that she would go into labor.

After consulting with the operations center, the pilot determined that the nearest friendly destination with competent medical services was Nairobi, Kenya and the plane headed there, even though that city was over two hours away.

The El Al ground staff was on hand to offer assistance and get the woman to hospital, where she was admitted to an intensive care unit. As of last night, she was still reported to be in serious condition.

Klieman noted that the passengers showed complete understanding and no one complained about the delay.

## PM discusses conversion bill with US rabbis

**By MARILYN HENRY**

NEW YORK — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu faced dueling messages from two sets of American rabbis Saturday night, with the Reform Movement suggesting that pending legislation on conversion would turn Israel into the "enemy."

Netanyahu met first with a delegation of Reform and Conservative rabbis, and then with an Orthodox contingent that was highly unusual in that it included officials of the Orthodox Union, Rabbinical Council of America, Young Israel and Agudat Israel at the same table.

The Orthodox delegation affirmed its support for the coalition's agreement on the status quo. But, one Orthodox official said, Netanyahu knows "he can't make the coalition happy without getting embroiled in a major Diaspora fight."

Netanyahu had expressed concern about Reform and Conservative conversions, fearing that foreign workers in Israel would come to the US for a few days to take advantage of what one Orthodox

rabbi called the Reform and Conservative movements' "quickie conversions," then return to Israel and claim citizenship under the Law of Return.

The Orthodox contingent said it would support requirements for "residency" in the US for a certain period as a way to avoid snap conversions.

"A Jew is a Jew is a Jew. You can't have

different standards for who is a Jew. There is one address and that is the Rabbinat," one Orthodox rabbi said.

The legislation is "one more slap in the face to the progressive movements," said Rabbi Eric Yofie, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the

Continued on Page 2

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**KITAN Golf Levi's**

Princess Hotel's kosher certificate canceled

By WAM SHAPIRO

Shmuel Segal



# NEWS

in brief

### Toddler drowns in yard

Two-year-old Onissa Inia drowned yesterday afternoon in a water trough in the yard of her home in Tel Sheva, a Beduin village near Beersheba. She had been playing in the yard and fell into a sheep trough. Her parents found her and called an ambulance, which rushed her to Beersheba's Soroka Hospital, where she was declared dead. *Itim*

### Levy signs agreement with Mexican FM

Foreign Minister David Levy and his Mexican counterpart Jose Angel Gurria signed agreements to combat drug trafficking, hold regular consultations between their foreign ministries and abolish the need for those holding official passports from their countries to obtain visas to visit the other. During their meeting in Jerusalem yesterday, they also discussed establishing a free trade area. Yesterday marked the first official visit by a Mexican foreign minister to Israel since 1975. *David Makovsky*

### 15 kg of cocaine nabbed

Police have confiscated 15 kg. of cocaine valued at \$1 million that was shipped in a container from Mexico to Haifa port, it was revealed yesterday, when a publication ban on the case was lifted. Seven people have been arrested in the case.

Those who have been remanded for 12 to 15 days are Hillel Kornfeld, 29, of Tel Aviv, Yosef Wilf, 49, of Eilat, and Shmuel Rosenthal, 30 of Petah Tikva, who was a soccer player in the 1960s. *Itim*

### Former Amidar head guilty of breach of trust

Former Amidar board chairman Uri Shani was fined NIS 10,000 and given a six-month suspended sentence by the Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday after being found guilty of breach of trust.

The charges related to his giving National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon office space in an Amidar building without management's approval, as required by law, and to his allowing his children to use the company's cars. Amidar incurred financial losses from both actions. *Itim*

### Israeli Arab stoned on bypass road

An Israeli Arab suffered serious head injuries early last night when the car he was driving in was stoned. The car, with yellow license plates, was travelling on the Halhoul bypass road. The driver was treated at the site by the Kiryat Arba branch of Magen David Adom and taken to the trauma ward at Hadassah University Hospital in Ein Kerem for treatment. *Margot Dudkevitch*

### Palestinian security men held in torture death

The Palestinian Police yesterday arrested Capt. Hani Ayad, head of Nablus military intelligence, along with two of his interrogators, on suspicion of beating Yusef Baba, 32, who died earlier this month in Nablus's Rafidiyah Hospital after being held for a month without charge by Palestinian military intelligence. Also arrested were Nablus Deputy Governor Abdel Muti Sadik and Bassam Hilu, director-general of the governor's office. *AP*

### Katyusha strategy session held

A theoretical exercise was held in Kiryat Motzkin yesterday on how to deal with the possible threat of long-range Katyusha rocket attacks from south Lebanon. The day-long briefing by senior officers of the Home Front Command, led by its commander Maj.-Gen. Shmuel Arad, follows unconfirmed reports Hizbullah may possess rockets capable of reaching as far as Haifa. Representatives of the police force, Magen David Adom, the fire department, as well as mayors and municipal officials from towns as far north as Acre, took part. *David Rudge*

## Lebanon monitors hear complaints today

By DAVID RUDGE

The Grapes of Wrath monitoring group is to meet at UNIFIL's headquarters in Nakoura today to hear complaints from Israel and Lebanon on breaches of the understandings that ended the widespread fighting last April.

The meeting of the five-nation committee will take place against a background of heightened tension following the IAF strikes deep in Lebanon last week, aimed at pressing the Syrian and Lebanese governments to restrain Hizbullah.

Hizbullah, however, shows no signs of giving up its fight against IDF and South Lebanese Army troops in the security zone.

An exhibition extolling Hizbullah generally and its fighting arm, the Islamic Resistance in particular, opened yesterday at the Lebanese Tourism Ministry's

offices in Beirut.

The exhibition includes a display of explosive devices and weapons used by the organization, video clips of its attacks on IDF and SLA targets in the zone, equipment allegedly left in the field by IDF troops after attacks, and memorials to "martyrs of the holy struggle against the Zionist enemy."

The organization also unveiled a monument to mark the anniversary of the killing of Hizbullah leader Sheikh Abbas Musawi and his wife and son, in an IAF helicopter attack in south Lebanon five years ago.

Hizbullah secretary-general Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, at a memorial service for Musawi in Beirut, criticized the US and President Bill Clinton for justifying Israel's continuing occupation of south Lebanon and the Golan Heights.

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved husband, father, brother, and grandfather

### KURT PHILIPPSOHN

The funeral will take place tomorrow, Tuesday, February 18, 1997, at 1 p.m., at Hayarkon Cemetery.

Wife: Trude

Daughters: Hanna and Ben-Ami Spectorman Naomi and Eri Heller

Brothers: Klaus and Gert Philippsohn

### VIRGINIA ALKOW

The funeral took place yesterday at the Herzliya Cemetery

Virginia Alkow leaves her loving husband, Jack Alkow daughters Marianne Baskin Gabriel and Elaine Baskin son-in-law Ken Krechmer, step-children Michael Alkow and Hedva Berg, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and Minty Allison

# No new building permits for Hebron settlers

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Hebron settlers emerged disappointed from their meeting with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai yesterday, after failing to obtain assurances that building permits and expansion plans for the Jewish neighborhoods in Hebron would be forthcoming.

Mordechai has to approve all building plans in the settlements, including in Hebron.

After visiting the city, Mordechai told the Arutz 7 radio station that to the best of his knowledge there have been no security infractions by the Palestinians. He added that the Jewish residents in Hebron had raised the issue of building permits and these would be dealt with.

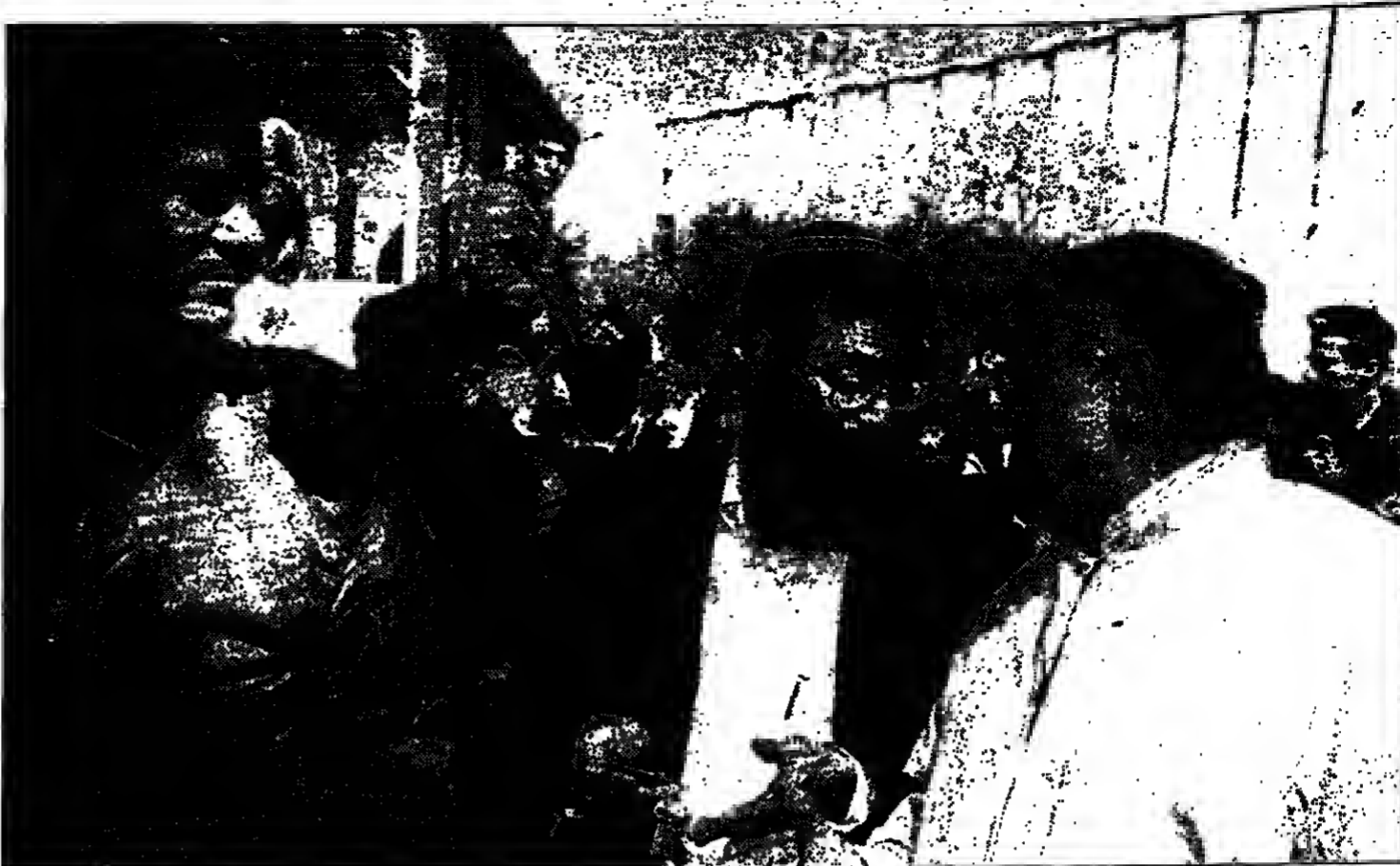
Noam Arnon, spokesman for Hebron's Jewish community, said the Jewish residents were fed up with the constant delays in issuing building permits.

"We want to expand the settlement in Hebron. Instead the Jews are forced to live in a ghetto-like existence," he said.

Arnon added that the settlers also discussed the extensive renovations being carried out on stores in the retail market next to the Avraham Avinu complex.

The site was the center of tension last week when Arab shop owners opened their stores, even though the market had not been officially opened.

Tempers flared between settlers and local Arabs, and the two sides tossed oranges and



Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai speaks to a settler during his visit to Hebron yesterday. (AP)

eggs at each other. The settlers were demanding that the site be moved elsewhere, claiming that the marketplace was built on Jewish land.

"We will not stand for this," Arnon said. "The Arabs are

allowed to carry out renovations and build huge housing projects in Hebron and we are issued orders to stop work."

Arnon was referring to an order the civil administration issued last Thursday demanding

that all work cease on a new building, called Beit Noam in the Avraham Avinu complex.

Arnon said the settlers would hold a protest campaign against the continued building freeze and the opening of the retail

market next to the Avraham Avinu complex.

"We don't want any favors. This is ours; we want the rights of the Jews in Hebron," he said, adding, "We feel humiliated in this type of situation."

## Sneh: Confrontation with Iran inevitable

By MICHAL YUDELMAN

Confrontation between Israel and Iran is inevitable, Labor Party leadership candidate MK Ephraim Sneh said yesterday.

Speaking to several dozen senior reserve officers at the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel, Sneh said that within a few years Iran will have nuclear weapons and will pose an existential threat to Israel.

The reserve officers included major-generals Uzi Narkiss, Doron Rubin, Avner Hertzoni, and Mordechai Ben-Shach.

Sneh warned that Israel will have to change its overall security concept, in accordance with the strategic Iranian nuclear threat. He noted that the Russian aid to Iran had reduced the time it needs to obtain operative

nuclear ability. Iran can achieve this ability within a few years, he said.

Commenting on the situation in Lebanon, Sneh said that given the current situation there is no alternative to the deployment of the IDF and SLA in the security zone.

"Fighting the Hizbullah, which is supported by the Iranians, is the first - but not last - military confrontation between a Western democracy and Khomeinistic Iran," Sneh said.

"The address to any settlement in Lebanon remains Syria. As long as there is no comprehensive agreement with Syria, there is no way but the IDF's direct threat on Syrian economic interests in Lebanon, to pressure them to curb Hizbullah," he added.

Sneh said there is an "unbridge-

able gap" at present between the Syrian concept of the security arrangements, and Israel's security needs. He said President Hafez Assad's territorial demands are for the maximum, while his readiness for security arrangements and normalization are minimal.

"The international border proposed by the Syrians in the Golan - the Jordan and Kinneret line - is not defensible. Consequently, the chances for a comprehensive settlement with Syria are slim," he said.

Sneh argued that Israel must build a new Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian axis in the region, to balance the Syrian-Iranian axis. The key to comprehensive peace in the region was and remains the agreements with the Palestinians, he stressed.

### COMMENT

## US meets 'New Age' Likud leader

By DAVID MAKOVSKY

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's meeting last week with President Bill Clinton strongly contrasts with an unforgettable White House encounter five years ago between prime minister Yitzhak Shamir and then-president George Bush.

On the heels of the 1991 Madrid peace conference, Shamir spent the entire session with the world's most powerful man discussing what entrances to the State Department of the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese negotiators would use and at what time intervals they would walk through the doors, in a futile bid to separate the various Arab delegations.

The American officials emerged from that session fuming at how Shamir had wasted his own and Bush's time. But Shamir's bizarre emphases reflected Likud's view at the time: It wanted Washington removed completely from the substance of the talks, apparently believing that Israel would thus be better positioned to maintain its ideological opposition to any form of territorial compromise.

During the premier's early trips to the US last summer and fall, US officials wondered whether Netanyahu was a younger version of Shamir with an American

accent. After Clinton's first encounter with Netanyahu, the president wondered aloud to those around him about Netanyahu's bravado, as the newly elected premier had spoken to the Oval Office as if he were the leader of a superpower and could dictate terms to the Palestinians.

It seems that last week's White House meeting was very different from the early encounters. If in the past Likud leaders wanted to keep the US out of the substance of the peace process because they believed this would reduce the prospects of territorial compromise, Netanyahu realizes that a new Likud post-Hebron approach in dealing with the territories requires reevaluating the role that the US plays.

Having finally reached the conclusion that Oslo makes territorial compromise in the West Bank a fait accompli, Netanyahu now sees that it is critical to bring the US into the nitty-gritty of the talks. This is what he did the other day at the White House, as he presented maps of his broad outlines for a final-status deal with the Palestinians, and articulated his thinking regarding territorial compromise on the Golan, even though talks with Syria still seem far off.

In advance of the White House meeting, the IDF Planning branch prepared maps aloud to those Israel's "vital interests" in the territories, hinting that the Palestinian Authority would partially or completely control approximately 45 percent of the West Bank by the end of the interim period.

Netanyahu's approach of seriously involving the US in his thinking at an early stage stems from his belief that to do otherwise would isolate Israel in the upcoming final-status talks with the Palestinians. The violence that followed the opening of a new exit to the Western Wall tunnel last September graphically illustrated that without the US at Israel's side, the world is more likely to believe Arafat and not Netanyahu is the arbiter of what is and, more importantly, what is not consistent with the seeking of peace.

While nobody should expect the US to embrace all of Netanyahu's ideas, Israel can only gain if the US sees a "New Age" Likud leader, one who is not an ideologue but someone genuinely grappling with reconciling Israeli security and Palestinian needs. This will mean that Israel will not be alone as it faces the most critical talks in its history.

### NETANYAHU

Continued from Page 1

synagogue arm of the Reform Movement.

"Atmosphere positive; results negative," Yoffie said of the Reform and Conservative rabbis' meeting with Netanyahu. "He did not do much to address our concerns that, as a leader of the Jewish

people, he must be a unifying force in Jewish life, speaking for all Jews, of all denominations."

In a telephone interview yesterday, Yoffie said: "Let him go into my congregation and explain why the State of Israel is doing this. The Reform Jews of this country would not have accepted the answers he was giving."

Only hours after Netanyahu attended Shabbat services at an Orthodox synagogue near Central

Park, Yoffie had invited the prime minister to attend services at a Reform or Conservative synagogue in the US or Israel.

"The prime minister can't even walk into the kind of synagogue that the great majority of American Jews walk into," Yoffie said. "If all Diaspora Jews are going to look on the State of Israel as the enemy, we are talking about a deep rift."

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Courses for New

# Strike immobilizes rail travel

By DAVID RUDGE

A wildcat strike by the 1,300 employees of Israel Railways paralyzed passenger and freight services yesterday, the busiest day of the week on the rails.

The strike was called to protest plans by National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon and Finance Minister Dan Meridor to restructure the railways.

Long lines built up at bus stations in the morning, swelled by thousands of soldiers returning to their bases after weekend leave and commuters who would normally travel

by train. The Egged bus cooperative operated extra buses to try to ease the load, especially on the Haifa-Tel Aviv line.

Railways management and Histadrut leaders called on the workers to end the strike, which began on Saturday night and has cost the railways hundreds of thousands of shekels in lost income.

The strike had been due to end at 6 last night, but was later extended to 6 a.m. today. The workers did not say if they intended to cause any further disruptions.

Under the proposals, the railways would be separated from the Ports Authority and

split into two government companies - one dealing with passenger and freight services and the other with infrastructure and assets.

The workers fear that the restructuring would pave the way to privatization of the railways and could lead to their rights and collective agreements being eroded.

They have called on management to immediately enter into negotiations over the proposals and coordinate moves with them.

Railways general manager Amos Uzani said the wildcat strike was illegal and unnecessary and was harming both passengers and freight services.

He said it had been made clear to Histadrut officials and representatives of the workers last week that their rights would not be harmed under the separation plans and that management would coordinate with them.

Baruch Zaltz, head of the Histadrut's Haifa and district branch, said the union was supporting the workers in their demands to guarantee salaries and benefits in the proposed changes.

He criticized the strike, however, because the workers had not adhered to union procedures and declared a labor dispute beforehand.

## NEWS

in brief

### Heating fuel price down 10%

The price of heating and transportation fuel was reduced by 10 percent at midnight last night, the National Infrastructure Ministry announced. Gasoline fuel also dropped slightly, 0.3%, to NIS 3.20 from NIS 3.21. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

### Hoter-Yishai denies tax evasion charges

Israel Bar Association head Dror Hoter-Yishai yesterday denied tax evasion charges brought against him in Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court. According to the indictment, Hoter-Yishai deliberately failed to report payments his father had received on his father's income tax return. He is accused of fraudulently tax authorities of hundreds of thousands of shekels between 1990-92. *Itim*

### New State Comptroller's Report finished

The 1997 State Comptroller's Report has been completed and was submitted to the Prime Minister's Office yesterday, the State Comptroller's Office announced. The government can now begin preparing its responses and drawing up plans to correct the defects pointed out in the report, which will not be made public until May 7. *Evelyn Gordon*



### Making the right moves

Jewish Agency Chairman Avraham Burg learns some new steps yesterday from a Jewish youth dance troupe from Argentina, whose members are here under the agency's auspices to explore aliya options. The troupe performed yesterday in the plaza in front of the agency's headquarters in Jerusalem. *(Nissim Sharon)*

### Thai worker stabbed

A Thai worker was stabbed several times in a hothouse in the Tel Mond area yesterday by a Palestinian worker who was apparently angry over the lack of jobs in Israel. The attacker fled and escaped. The Thai was brought to Kfar Sava's Meir Hospital. Eight foreign workers have been murdered by Palestinians in the past few years. *(Itim)*

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587020	Analog Data Collection System based on a Rapid Scanner Stage A - Submission of technical/commercial details without prices Tender Participation Preconditions: All offered equipment must be from companies with maintenance and repair services in Israel, approved by the manufacturers.	NIS 351
585487	Cabinets for Production of Lighting Boards for Rotenberg Power Station Stage A - Submission of technical/commercial details without prices Tender Participation Preconditions: 1. The manufacturer must comply with the requirements of the Electric Corporation's quality guarantee and monitoring standard, Q2-2E or ISO 9002. 2. The cabinets must comply with gas-tightness standard NEMA 4X or IP 65.	NIS 936
529704	Contract for the Provision of Hotel Services for Corporation Employees on Courses Contract Requirements: Providing full-board hotel accommodation for Corporation employees, participating in courses. Period of Contract: From May 1997 to December 1997, with the option of extension from year to year, for two years, at the same terms, and the Corporation's right to early cancellation, as detailed in the tender documents, and in accordance with the contract. Tender Participation Preconditions: Only proposals submitted by parties that comply with all of the following conditions will be considered: 1. The bidder is the owner and/or leasee of a hotel that has been operating for at least 6 months, before the date on which this tender is published. 2. The submission of certificates showing that the hotel is registered in accordance with the law, and the hotelier is a member of the Hotels Association. 3. Every room in the hotel has an adjacent shower and lavatory, and the rooms have a radio, TV set and telephone. 4. The hotel has the following facilities: - A lecture hall with 120 seats, a blackboard, a shelf board, closet, TV set, slide projector, video projector, public address system; and two other halls each with 40 seats. 5. The bidder undertakes to offer prices in Stage B of the tender that are equal to or less than the prices in the Civil Services Commission's tariff. 6. The bidder submits all permits, required under the Public Companies Law (Keeping Accounting Books and Payment of Taxes) 1976. 7. The bidder submits a copy of kashrut certificate, valid at the time the bid is submitted. 8. The bidder must be able to offer the Corporation a minimum of 50 rooms, for every course. The bidder must also be able to offer an additional 25 rooms for the accommodation of family members of the Corporation's employees. In total, a maximum of 75 rooms must be available for employees and their family members. 9. The bidder is to attach to the proposal for Stage A a certificate, signed by an auditor, that the hotel complies with all the conditions given in Paras. 1-8. 10. The Corporation reserves the right to demand any documents, required to be submitted in Stage A but not so submitted; such documents must be provided within 72 hours of the Corporation's demand.	NIS 936

Last date for submitting bids: March 9, 1997, at 11 a.m.

582889	Hand Operated, Electric Pallet Truck Stage A - Submission of technical/commercial details without prices	NIS 351
591844	Workers Time Clocks and Meal Ticket Printers, Including Control and Monitoring Software Stage A - Submission of technical/commercial details without prices Tender Participation Preconditions: A company which has an employee that participated in the drawing up of the technical specification for this tender, and a company that has been commissioned to participate in checking bids submitted may not participate in the tender.	NIS 936
597331	Series of 400 KV Distribution Boards Stage A - Submission of technical/commercial details without prices Tender Participation Preconditions: Bidders must have an authorization certificate, issued in accordance with standard ISO 9002.	NIS 936

Last date for submitting bids: March 16, 1997, at 11 a.m.

CONDITIONS APPLYING TO THE SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS: (in addition to conditions specified for particular tenders)

- Provision of a guarantee of 9% of the bid total, in the form of a private check, should be attached to the bid, except for tenders requesting technical information only (Stage A).
- Participation in a tender is also subject to complying with the preliminary conditions detailed in the Tender Regulations 1993, Paras. 5(a) 1, 2, 3 (i.e., registration as required by law, compliance with mandatory specifications, and the holding of the permits required by law for businesses).
- The Corporation may allow a bidder who does not submit any particular required document to provide it later, but within the period of time stipulated by the Corporation.

The tender documents may be obtained Sunday - Thursday, at the Market Research and Tenders Dept., 11 Sderot Pal-Yam, Haifa, between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, on submission of a receipt, demonstrating payment (non-returnable) of the cost of the documents into the Corporation's account at the Postal Bank. Payment slips for making such payments are obtainable at the above address (Tel. 04-86154554).

Before purchasing the tender documents, they may be perused Sunday - Thursday, 9 a.m. - 12 noon, at the offices of the Market Research and Tenders Dept., at the above address, and at the Sales Unit, 90 Rahov Yigal Alon, Tel Aviv, Ashdod building, Entrance Ginnat, Floor 1, Tel. 03-5654679, 03-5654641.

Bids should be submitted in a sealed envelope, and be placed in Tenders Box No. 1, in the Pal-Yam building, Haifa (address as above) by the last date for submitting bids, as stated above.

No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid.

NOTE: In appropriate cases, the Electric Corporation will give preference to suppliers, in accordance with the Tenders Regulations (Preference for Locally Produced Goods, and Obligation to Extend Commercial Cooperation). The Electric Corporation retains the right to negotiate, where this is legally permissible.

## Ramle rape suspect is 15 Tourism on mend

A 15-year-old suspect in the rape of a seven-year-old girl in Ramle several weeks ago was identified yesterday in a police line-up by the girl's 10-year-old brother, who had witnessed the rape and was hit by the attacker.

When shown eight youths of similar height and build, the brother, without hesitating, pointed to the 15-year-old youth, who was arrested late last week.

The youth is suspected of approaching the two children as they were playing in the schoolyard, and convincing them to accompany him to a nearby field, where he beat the two and raped the girl. Earlier this month, a 13-year-old boy was arrested in connection with the rape, and held for five

days, after he admitted involvement in the crime. But the brother did not identify him in a line-up and the youth was released.

Last week, police investigators returned to the scene of the crime, where the suspect, who fit the description given by the brother, passed by and aroused the officers' suspicions. When they approached him, the suspect immediately began to defend himself, saying he had had nothing to do with the rape, even though the policemen had not yet explained what they wanted from him.

The youth was arrested and remanded on Friday for seven days. Police said he has confessed to the rape and that items were found in his home linking him to the crime.

By HAIM SHAPIRO

The tourism slump has apparently ended, but the number of arrivals is still far below the level a year ago.

The Central Bureau of Statistics, which published its figures yesterday, noted that after adjustments for seasonal factors, the number of incoming tourists during December and January rose by 5 percent compared to the numbers of those who arrived from September through November.

However, the bureau failed to note that although some 143,700 visitors arrived during January, this was 18% lower than the figure in January last year when some 176,000 people entered the country.

Tourism Ministry spokesperson Ori Doron said that from the end of August, the continuous decline in tourism since almost a year ago has stabilized. Doron noted, however, that there has yet to be an increase.

However, she added, the present indications are that tourism will be up in real terms by April, a trend which is seen by the hoteliers as well.

## Shmulik Segal - little big man

By HELEN KAYE

He died the way all actors want to go, in the middle of a play. On Friday, Habimah actor Shmulik Segal had a stroke at the age of 72 while performing in a children's play in Ramat Aviv. He never regained consciousness, and died the next day at Ichilov Hospital.

It's hard to imagine our stages without Shmulik, without his inclining smile, without the quiet voice caressing the words so that they purred their way into our hearts, without the gentle presence. He was

a little man, but so big. In 1950 the great Etienne Ducroux sent Segal a postcard depicting Notre Dame. "Her builders were modest, like you," he wrote.

"He always had a good word for an actor or a play," said Rami Hoyberger, who acted with Segal. Yossi Banai said of him: "He didn't just love the theater. The theater loved him."

Zubin Mehta adored him, so did Labor Party leader Shimon Peres, and so did children in a school he performed at during the Gulf war, "just to be doing my bit."

He was born in Poland to a religious, Zionist family and immigrated here at age 10. He was at Habimah for more than 50 years, starting with *Be'erot Hanegev* in 1945. He played some 100 roles from French farce to Shakespeare to Greek tragedy. He had a TV role on *Neighbors*.

It was as a storyteller that Segal came into his own. For years he, Shmulik Atzmon and the Shmuel Rodensky toured with Shalom Aleichem's *Die Kleine Menselach*.

Segal will be buried today at the Kiryat Shmuel Cemetery.

## How to become a freelance writer

by NICK DAWES

Freelance writing can be creative, fulfilling and a lot of fun, with excellent money to be made as well. What's more, anyone can become a writer. No special qualifications or experience are required.

The market for writers is huge. In Britain alone there are around 1,000 daily, Sunday and weekly papers, and more than 8,000 magazines. Many of the stories and articles that they publish are supplied by freelancers. These range from books, theatre, films, TV, radio...

With such demand, there's always room for new writers. But, as Mr. E. H. Metcalfe, principal of Britain's leading writing school The Writers Bureau, explains, "if you want to enjoy the rewards of seeing your work in print, one thing you must have is proper training."

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MINISTRY OF IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION  
Spokesman's Bureau

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Course subjects:  
Introduction to the computer, word processing, computer languages, Autocad, computerized graphics, professional Hebrew, English and professional English, the computerized office, computerized storage, computerized accounting, salary calculations, machine maintenance, and other subjects.

The courses, which are held all over Israel, meet during evening hours (and/or on Fridays) and are of 100 hours. For further details and to register, call one of the employment centers of the Ministry in your area.

WORLD

in brief

Parliamentary runoff fails in Chechnya

GROZNY, Russia (AP) - Parliamentary runoff elections apparently failed in breakaway Chechnya because of low voter turnout, according to early results yesterday.

Police arrest hundreds of Iranian demonstrators

TEHRAN, Iran (AP) - Riot police broke up a protest yesterday by striking oil refinery workers in Tehran, detaining hundreds of demonstrators and taking them away in buses.

12 get up to 15 years for smuggling antiquities

CAIRO (AP) - A Cairo court yesterday sentenced 12 men, including three Britons and several Egyptian antiquities inspectors, to up to 15 years in jail for smuggling Pharaonic artifacts out of the country, a judicial source said.

Report two kidnapped in Venezuela

CARACAS (Reuters) - Two vacationers, one of them a US citizen, were kidnapped near Venezuela's border with Colombia by presumed leftist guerrillas, local daily El Universal reported yesterday.

Tajik rebels release 5 hostages

DUSHANBE, Tajikistan (AP) - A Tajik rebel warlord released five of his 11 international hostages yesterday after the government threatened to use force to free the captives and brought troops close to his base.

The release was reported by telephone by a representative of the warlord, Bakhran Saidov, the ITAR-Tass and the Interfax news agencies said. There was no official confirmation from the Tajik government, ITAR-Tass noted.

Emomali Rakhmonov, who will travel to the region today, the spokesman told ITAR-Tass. Their agreement served to avert, at least temporarily, the possibility that the 12-day hostage drama in Central Asia will end in an armed clash.

Saidov warned earlier yesterday that the government "will be compelled to resort to force" if Saidov fails to free his hostages. Russian government officials held satellite telephone talks with Saidov yesterday morning. Two Russian journalists are among the hostages.

"Start freeing the hostages immediately, or bear all responsibility" for the consequences, Deputy Prime Minister Vitaly Ignatenko told the warlord, according to ITAR-Tass.

Efforts to end the hostage crisis hit a last-minute snag on Saturday when Saidov failed to free his hostages as promised.

The remaining hostages were to have been released when Tajik authorities allowed 28 guerrillas to rejoin Saidov at his base 80 kilometers east of the capital Dushanbe. Saidov's supporters were brought from neighboring Afghanistan Thursday. On Friday, the warlord freed two female Russian journalists and their driver in exchange for six rebel fighters.

But a government official said he cut off contact with Tajik and Russian negotiators after the remaining fighters arrived Saturday afternoon. Saidov resumed the talks yesterday. Tajik and Russian officials have voiced concern that the gunmen might be planning to flee their base, using the hostages as human shields and moving under cover of darkness to evade likely pursuit by government troops.

Peron reportedly offered fugitive Nazis safe passage

Buenos Aires (AP) - Former Argentinian President Juan Peron set up a team to find key Nazis and offer them safe passage to Argentina after World War II, a Jewish historian says.

The report in yesterday's edition of La Nacion was based on research by a Jewish group that has spent four years sifting through some 22,000 documents from the national archive.

The group has included many of the documents in a book called "Project Testimony" to be published in April. A copy was given to the government in January.

"Peron's secret team not only welcomed fugitives but also proposed candidates for admission and then sent out missions to arrange their safe passage from Europe to South America," the newspaper quoted Beatriz Gurevich, head of the research group, as saying.

The report said the team included Pierre Daye, who was sentenced to death by a Belgian tribunal in 1947 for Nazi collaboration; Jacques Marie de Mahieu, a former officer of the Waffen SS in France; and Branko Benzon, a Croatian Nazi who befriended Adolf Hitler and Hermann Goering as ambassador to Berlin for Zareb's pro-Nazi government until 1943.

The group was headed by Rudi Freude, the son of Ludwig Freude, who was one of the Allies' most-wanted Nazi agents in Argentina, the newspaper reported.

It has been widely debated whether Peron's 1946-55 government was ideologically aligned with Hitler and allowed

Nazis into the country because of their scientific and military expertise.

Just how many Nazis entered Argentina is not publicly known. Among those who came was Adolf Eichmann, and former SS Capt. Erich Priebke, who participated in a 1944 massacre of 335 civilians outside Rome.

Priebke, who lived under his own name in the Andean resort of Bariloche for more than 40 years, was extradited to Italy in 1995. He is awaiting re-trial.

Last month, the Simon Wiesenthal Center called for an investigation into claims that Peron issued some 8,000 identity papers to fugitive Nazis.



National Front mayor sworn in National Front activist Catherine Megret smiles after being sworn in yesterday as mayor of Vitrolles, in southern France, as her husband, Bruno, looks on. Vitrolles is the fourth French municipality to fall under control of the extreme right-wing National Front, after Toulon, Orange and Marignane. (AP)

South Korea criticizes North for shooting defector

SEOUL (Reuters) - South Korean cabinet ministers accused North Korea yesterday of trying to kill a prominent defector in the South and ordered tighter security for defectors and government leaders. Home Affairs Minister Suh Chung-hwa denounced the shooting of Li Il-nam, the nephew of North Korean leader Kim Jong-ils ex-wife, as "an assassination attempt by North Korean infiltrators," a government statement said.

Prime Minister Lee Soo-suang said a desperate North Korea appeared to be resorting to terrorist attacks after a high-level Pyongyang official sought political asylum in South Korea. He is now stranded in the South Korean mission in China.

With the shooting incident, North Korea took specific steps of retaliation it had talked about since Hwang Jang-yop's defection, he told a meeting of security-related ministers.

He called the meeting as Li went into coma after being shot late on Saturday outside his home just south of Seoul.

The meeting agreed to step up checks and search for the arrest of the culprits and strengthen security for North Korean defectors, senior government figures and political leaders," the statement issued after the emergency meeting said.

South Korean officials said Pyongyang might stage more attacks as a warning to both Seoul and to potential asylum-seekers. South Korea placed all its police forces on full alert, while troops searched for the gunman, they said.

Tensions on the divided Korean peninsula have flared since Wednesday, when Hwang Jang-yop, a senior adviser to North Korean leader Kim, arrived by taxi at the diplomatic mission in China.

Hwang, ranked 24th in the Stalinist states hierarchy, would be the highest Pyongyang figure to seek asylum in the South.

But furious North Korean officials waiting outside claimed Hwang was kidnapped and warned that Pyongyang would respond with force if the South compelled Hwang to go to Seoul.

Separatists kill 22; India army gets special powers CALCUTTA, India (Reuters) - The Indian army was granted sweeping shoot-on-sight powers in the northeastern state of Tripura yesterday, after tribal separatist rebels killed 22 people in three remote villages, a government official said.

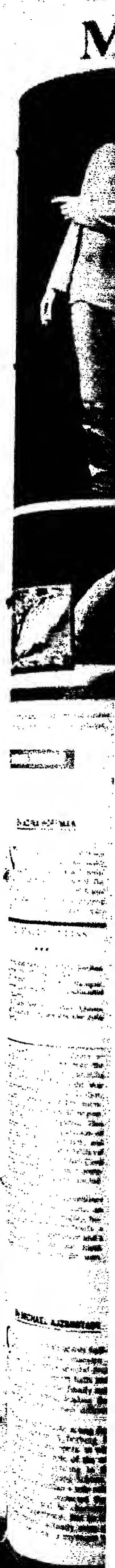
"The situation is extremely volatile," said Tripura's home minister Samar Choudhury, speaking by phone from the state capital of Agartala. "Shoot-at-sight orders have been issued to contain the violence."

He said the army and paramilitary reinforcements had also been given powers to arrest and indefinitely detain suspects. Chowdhury said state authorities had imposed an indefinite curfew in the Khowai region, where yesterday's killings of 22 Bengali settlers by separatists belonging to the All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) occurred.

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AN EMOTIONAL APPEAL FROM 19 YEAR OLD NOA ESTHER SCHWARTZ TO THOSE WHO HAVE LENT THEIR ASSISTANCE TO SAVE HER LIFE. Greetings and may G-d bless you all. I turn to you in this emotional appeal for your assistance. Some of you know me personally, but most of you are only familiar with the story of the wonderful journey to save my life from cancer, which was detected on the eve of my Bar Mitzvah, first in my right leg and which later spread to both my legs.

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM The Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry invites the public to: The 1997 Stephen S. Wise Memorial Lecture In America-Holy Land Studies Land of Beauty, Land of Terror To be delivered by: Professor Martin E. Marty The University of Chicago



# Monodrama madness

By HELEN KAYE

Israel's current affairs, whether personal or public, drive the 11 plays of TheaterNetto 1997, the eighth monodrama festival which runs from March 13-16 at the Suzanne Dellal Center in Tel Aviv.

"The common theme to this year's plays is questions about and involvement with what's going on in this country," says artistic director Yitzik Weingarten who's running the festival for the second, and he says, final year.

All but one are original, and their subjects run the gamut from Mr. Voo convicted spy Mordechai Vanunu by Yigal Ezrati with Yooatan Cherchi in the title role, to *Call Waiting* by Shula Megiddo in which comedienne Anat Barzilai has a fateful phone conversation. The other plays, all approximately an hour long, include Itai Segev as *Magic Yotom*, his and Ehud Ashkenazi's adaptation of a story by Janusz Korczak, *The Spit* an evening of Orly Kastel-Blinn's marvelously surrealist tales acted out by Orna Katz, *Red Ribbons* by Smadar Amitai in which sad-faced Uri Avrahami has to come to grips with his son's death while Israel celebrates its 50th, *Josephine* by Ravid Davara in which Nelly Amar in the title role talks to a carp, and Noya Lancet's *Along the Walls* in which the past closes around Hela (Rosina Kambos) who expects a second Holocaust.

TheaterNetto is both a proving ground for the ambitious, like actor Eli Danker who's making his directorial debut with *Siddown Mom*, his first play by actor Sharon Reginiano, or *Orange Blossom Time* written and acted by Alon Margalit, and a challenge to the well-known like Kambos and Avrahami.

Singer Arcadi Duchin, storytelling by Yuval Meskin and an evening of monologues more or less complete the lineup. The actors compete for an NIS 10,000 prize. The festival budget of NIS 600,000 comes mainly from the Tel Aviv municipality and the Arts and Culture Authority and the tickets are NIS 55, or NIS 40 per show if you buy by February 28.



Uri Avrahami (top) must come to grips with his son's death in 'Red Ribbons'; in 'Josephine,' Nelly Amar talks to a carp.



Anat Barzilai (top) has a fateful conversation in 'Call Waiting'; Alon Margalit both wrote and acts in 'Orange Blossom Time.'

## NEWS

of the muse

### Prize-winning films

Five young film-makers received prizes of NIS 5000 each from the Second Television and Radio Authority (STRA) in a ceremony at Tel Aviv's Eynav Cultural Center last Tuesday. The winners are Tali Bar-Ness for *Two*, Itai Lev for *Horizon*, Tali Maoz for *No Rain*, Hadar Friedlich for *People* and Yigal Shoham for *Don't Pity Us*.

The prizes were awarded by STRA franchises Reshet, Keshet and Tel-Ad, by the Authority, and by its Communications Development Fund.

Sixty seven short films participated in the competition, the first of its kind, established to encourage and assure the future of local moviemaking.

The competitors came from the country's cinema and communications schools and also from community television. Some of the winning films have already been shown on Channel 2's *Screen Test* and the others will probably be featured on the same program.

Helen Kaye

### Plenty operetta

The Bucharest Opera Theater is bringing Franz Lehár's *The Merry Widow* (1905) and *Counsellor Moritz* (1924) by Emmerich Kalman for a country-wide tour from February 25 to March 3 with an 80 strong cast of singers, dancers and musicians.

The stars include soprano Daniela Vladescu and tenor Dorio Teodorescu. Both operettas are fully staged and will play in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, Beersheba, Nazareth, Nahariya, Netanya and Kfar Sava among others.

Helen Kaye

### In the name of the father

Young pianist Orly Shoham joined violinist brother Gil in a recording of chamber music by Dvorak for her Deutsche Grammophon recording debut. One of the pieces on the new album is the *Sonatina*, which Dvorak wrote for his own son and daughter. Shoham recalls that "was the very first piece Gil and I discovered together... at least 10 years ago." The Shoham duo played two recitals in Israel, one a very emotional event in memory of their father who has died very young.



Gil Shoham

Michael Aizenstadt

### Nagari in London

Composer Beni Nagari, whose short *Debka* will be premiered by the Ra'anana Symphonette Orchestra at the beginning of March, is currently busy at his London home writing new pieces for the Tel Aviv Chamber Choir as well as for the Musica Nova ensemble.

He is also writing a special work for the deaf percussionist extraordinaire Evelyn Gleny.

Gleny is due to make her Israeli debut in May in a solo recital at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts center and to return later to play Nagari's new opus with a local orchestra still to be determined.

Michael Aizenstadt

### Less Bite

In what some might consider an imaginative piece of sentencing, a judge has ordered American rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg to record anti-violence messages for radio airplay. The messages are part of a plea bargain Snoop, whose real name is Calvin Broadus, agreed to enter into.

Broadus was acquitted last year of murder charges arising from a 1993 drive-by shooting but faced a further trial on weapons charges.

The former L.A. Crips gang member - who acquired his nickname because of his supposed resemblance to the Peanuts cartoon character Snoopy the Dog, and who won an MTV award for best rap video with "Doggystyle" - has previously spent several spells in jail.

Tom Gross

### Oliver Stone investigates NFL

Oliver Stone, the moviemaker who has probed into the worlds of JFK, Nixon and others, and has also tackled violent topics in movies such as *Platoon* and *Natural Born Killers*, is ready to combine both investigative filmmaking and violent action in the subject matter of his latest movie, *American Football*.

The New York-born writer/director's new film will focus on various aspects of what goes on inside the world of the N.F.L.

Tom Gross



Oliver Stone

### MOVIE REVIEW

## The myth of 'the Big Fella'

By ADINA HOFFMAN

Neil Jordan's big, bloody epic, *Michael Collins*, takes place in that cataclysmic period of Irish history between the failed Easter Rebellion of 1916 and the assassination of Collins (played here by Liam Neeson) six years

### MICHAEL COLLINS

Written and directed by Neil Jordan. Hebrew title: *Michael Collins*. 138 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children. With Liam Neeson, Aidan Quinn, Alan Rickman, Stephen Rea and Julia Roberts.



Michael Collins (Liam Neeson, center) and his friend Harry Boland (Aidan Quinn) vie for the affections of Kitty Kiernan (Julia Roberts).

later. Known to his comrades as "the Big Fella," Collins was the mastermind of various guerrilla tactics used by the IRA in the War of Independence against Britain, and later he served as a key member of the team that would negotiate the Treaty with England. This agreement led to the partition of Ireland into North and South, and was considered by some a betrayal of national ideals: the brutal Civil War that resulted from the controversy claimed many lives, including Collins's own.

Hasty, beautiful and sometimes confusing, the film crams an incredibly messy and complex history into a little over two hours, a feat which is both impressive and a bit troubling. On the one hand, viewers unfamiliar with the intricate

ins-and-outs of Irish political history are treated to a breathless but vivid crash course in the traumatic events and main players. Jordan also takes pains to fill the background of his massive canvas with subtly sketched bits: this attention paid to the believable identity of passersby and men-in-opera is a combination of theatre and music, albeit on the stage.

"I hate the concept of people saying they are going to see a concert. One hears a concert with the ears and not with the eyes. Which is why I don't like concerts on television when the camera suddenly focuses on the bassoonist for example. But opera is a combination, it's an audio-visual experience."

Speaking a mixture of German interspersed with some English, the gray-haired maestro, who has been the music director of Geneva's Orchestre de la Suisse Romande

with busy individuals, all locked in the same awful fate. On the other hand, Jordan has streamlined the plot and characters considerably in order to make the elaborate saga comprehensible as drama. You don't have to be a historian of the period to sense that the story is too tidy and cinematic to be true in certain places.

The issue is not whether these events happened exactly as outlined in the movie. The director has stated plainly, and with admirable honesty, that he approached history here as "fiction in the making." (All epic-film-makers are engaged in constructing their subjects to some degree, as are biographers, historians and documentarists: not all are blunt enough to say so.) The problem is that by hiding behind this "just-a-story" defense in the particular, charged case of IRA history, Jordan comes uncomfortably close to revisionist mythmaking.

most opera starting with a new production of *Parsifal* in Paris this coming April. For many years Jordan was closely associated with the French repertoire, especially the works of impressionist composers Ravel and Debussy.

"I have had enough with French music. There is a limit to how much I could do that. Now I concentrate above all on Wagner, Richard Strauss, Zemlinsky, Schreker, Schoenberg and Korngold."

Jordan is full of compliments to the ICO. After a few rehearsals he commends first and foremost the orchestra's strings. "In Europe the strings are somewhat aggressive, in Germany they have a very hard sound. But here they are very beautiful with a warm soul, it is a real pleasure."

## Jordan comes to Israel

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Conductors are half-actors half-charlatans, says Swiss maestro Armin Jordan, who after several decades of a prolific career in concert halls and opera houses all over the world finally makes his Israeli debut this week, leading the Israel Chamber Orchestra in two different programs.

Jordan was able to taste acting first hand in the Hans Jürgen Syberberg film of *Parsifal*, Wagner's last opera, in which the conductor played the role of the wounded King Amfortas, lip syncing to the pre-recorded voice of Wolfgang Schöne.

totally destroyed when you watch close-ups of singers and see the fillings in their teeth. Opera belongs on the stage.

Speaking a mixture of German interspersed with some English, the gray-haired maestro, who has been the music director of Geneva's Orchestre de la Suisse Romande

for the last dozen years, believes that it is adamant for orchestras to have long-term relationships with their music directors.

"Before me the music director of the orchestra was Horst Stein, and before him Wolfgang Sawallisch for a decade (and before that) Ermet Ansermet, who led the orchestra for 50 years.

In order for an orchestra to have an identity it has to work with one conductor for a long period.

"This [is] what happened in Berlin with Karajan or at the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam with Haitink. These are orchestras who have a very easily identifiable sound. Music directors who remain only three years with an orchestra can barely achieve any real sound."

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## Risks and responsibility

The interim report of the Ivory Commission investigation of the terrible helicopter crash that took 73 lives on February 4 was submitted on Friday. Though the report does not pinpoint the cause of the crash, the picture it paints is a sobering one with wide repercussions and not just for the air force.

The public interest is best served by focusing more upon what lessons can be learned for the future, than on pinning the blame on individuals. One must also not forget that it is not possible to eliminate risk from military service and that often, attempts to eliminate one series of risks open up another.

For example, the soldiers were being flown by helicopter in order to avoid the risk of roadside bombs that threaten ground convoys in Lebanon. The helicopters planned to enter Lebanon with lights off and in formation in order to reduce the risk of an attack from the ground. Yet it was the decision to fly in formation, without lights, that helped cause the crash.

The Ivory report reveals that the helicopters were operating under orders that were ambiguous and even conflicting, and that there were no standard procedures for when and how helicopters should confirm that their lights had been turned off before entering a hostile area. One theory is that the crash occurred when one helicopter was maneuvering in front of the other in order to check that its lights had been turned off.

In response to these concerns, the Ivory Commission recommended that transport helicopters on similar missions should fly alone or maintain large distances between them. The report reaffirmed existing regulations that were not followed, such as the requirement that helicopters flying in formation have a designated leader who has been trained to lead in formation. The report also recommended that clear rules be developed regarding flying without lights.

To an outsider, the need for new rules to increase the margin of safety seems an obvious one. But even the addition of new regulations is not risk free, or a panacea to the problem of safeguarding the lives of soldiers.

Of Ben-Peretz, a helicopter pilot and founder of the air force helicopter school, told *Ma'ariv* that the problem is not lack of regulations, but a glut of regulations that are not followed.

As Ben-Peretz argues, "... there are too many rules. Every flight has 40 tons of rules. The old ones are out thrown out, and every investigatory committee adds new rules. The sheer number of rules makes pilots small-minded, and they are not capable of carrying them all out."

According to Beo-Peretz, the real culprit in this accident is a combination of overregulation and the dismissive attitude to laws and regulations in Israeli society.

"It started with the informal atmosphere in the Palmah ...," explains Beo-Peretz, "continues with the efforts to cheat the tax authorities, the violent way people drive, a permissive attitude toward criminality among Knesset members and so on. In Israeli society few people carefully fulfill the missions for which they bear responsibility."

Some of the families of the crash victims were disturbed by what they saw as an example of such a cavalier attitude toward rules and regulations in the response of OC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Eitan Beo-Eliahu to the report's findings. In the press conference upon release of the report, Ben-Eliahu excused the lack of uniform guidelines between different helicopter units as a part of the need to allow for the pilot's "creativity." It is certainly legitimate to seek to avoid overregulation of pilots, particularly where the proliferation of rules leads to a reduction in seriousness with which each rule is taken. But "creativity" is no excuse for a lack of professionalism that can have tragic consequences. The situation in question was not a battlefield, where little can be predicted, but a routine transport run under reasonable conditions.

It is dangerous to generalize from one accident, and particularly on the basis of a preliminary investigation. But the picture that seems to be emerging is one of sloppiness in the Israel Air Force, rightly thought of as one of the most professional elements of the Israeli military. The concern arises that if the numerous irregularities cited by the Ivory report can be found in the air force, what is the state of affairs in the rest of the IDF? If part of the problem is overregulation, the regulations should be streamlined to weed out the ones that have not proven themselves over time.

Of course, it is hard to know how many accidents have been prevented by a seemingly frivolous regulation. But adding new regulations and eliminating useless ones will not address the more fundamental issue of professionalism in the IDF.

The choice between professionalism and creativity is a false one. It is not easy to follow a sea of regulations without stifling personal initiative and the skill of making snap judgments. But success both in battle and in peace time demands no less. The critical question is not who pays for this accident, but whether its lessons will be learned in the air force, the IDF, and in Israeli society generally.

# Sound sleep

MICHAEL OREN

The search for ways to get back at Lebanon for all the terrible things Hezbollah has done to us and that we seemingly can't do back to Hezbollah has yielded an arsenal of nasty proposals for revenge. These run from bombing Lebanon's power stations to mining the backyard of its president, Elias Hrawi. These ideas are all fine and good in theory. In practice, they're sure

to make their loss a virtual death-blow to Syria's fragile economy. Syrian heroin is made from poppies grown in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. The process there is the same as elsewhere in the narcotics-making world. From dried poppy seeds comes the morphine opiate from which pure heroin is then derived. From Bekaa, it's a short drive to Beirut harbor, and drug dealers and junkies around the globe.

As long as Lebanon remains outside international controls, as long as Lebanese leaders get their cut, the trade prospers and grows.

### How's this for creative vengeance?

to bring the world down on our heads as fast, if not faster, than did Israel's previous attempts at creative vengeance, from the Litani Operation to Accountability and Grapes of Wrath.

What's worse, in such acts as cutting off Beirut's water supply (we tried that in 1982) or blowing up a couple of its airplanes (1968), we aren't even hurting the right people — the Syrians — and hurting them where it's most painful: their pocketbooks.

The search, I'll argue, has ended, with the solution almost literally under Israel's nose. The answer can be summed up in one word: Poppies.

Syria, which hardly ranks among the world's financial tigers, is heavily dependent on the drug trade. Even more than terror, heroin is a major Syrian export item.

Though estimates vary from the hundreds of millions to several billion, the proceeds from this trafficking are massive, more than enough

THAT IS, until the day IDF planes appear over those same Bekaa poppy fields and drop — not bombs, but... defoliants.

I'm not talking about Agent Orange, or some of the more virulent poisons, but about little more than a garden variety herbicide, the kind used to kill weeds, or, for that matter, poppies.

How many sorties would it take — three, six? — to wipe out the entire crop?

Though Damascus would undoubtedly cry foul play, poppies produce several bodies as evidence of Israeli chemical attacks, the official record would show that nobody got killed, or even injured — except, of course, Syria's ruling drug lords.

And the true beauty of it would be that, with the exception of certain cartels, nobody could condemn us for it — not the US, certainly, which has conducted similar operations against poppy fields in South America.

Destroying Syria's heroin-basket would be more popular than blast-

# Dry Bones



ing the Iraqi nuclear reactor, more popular than destroying the Assad air force on the ground. Israel would be giving the world a gift, and itself a potent means of reprisal.

Let's hear Assad protest when Israel prevents his heroin from reaching the children of America and Europe. Let's see Hezbollah try to attack us when the drug money that funds it has turned, literally, to dust.

Remember that scene in the

*Wizard of Oz* where the Wicked Witch of the West robs her hands and cackles "Poppies... poppies will make them sleep...?" There's nothing that says we can't occasionally draw inspiration from an anti-hero.

Let's send those poppy fields in Lebanon to sleep.

The writer lectures on Middle Eastern history.

# Who exactly is a Jerusalemite?

DAN LEON

In an effort to convey the absurdity of Israeli residency laws and regulations for Palestinian Jerusalemites, Attorney Leah Tsemel declared: "If Bill Netanyahu was a Palestinian, his 12-year stay in the US would have annulled his residency rights in Jerusalem."

According to the Israeli regulations for Palestinians in Jerusalem, these rights are lost after seven years abroad.

The difference is that Netanyahu is a citizen, whereas since 1967, nearly all Palestinian Jerusalemites, having rejected the option of Israeli citizenship, only have blue ID cards with the status of "permanent resident" according to the law of Entry into Israel (1952), and Entry into Israel regulations (1974).

The language sounds odd, since these 160,000 Palestinian Jerusalemites didn't "enter Israel," but were born and/or bred in the city, often going back many generations.

Up to 1995, residency visas were issued to Palestinian East Jerusalemites living abroad (including the West Bank), valid for one to three years. Since 1994, the Ministry of Interior, basing itself on a High Court decision, has demanded proof that Jerusalem is the applicant's "center of life" as a condition in all family reunification cases.

Research by the Center for the Defense of the Individual raises

fears that the forms proving "center of life" require an impossible degree of documentation. Unable to build in Jerusalem because most of their land was expropriated from 1967, Palestinians were compelled by the housing shortage to move into the outskirts of Jerusalem, which are outside the municipal borders

of the city. The Jerusalem weekly *Kol Ha'Ir* estimates that present policies could lead to the withdrawal of at least half of the present number of Palestinian Jerusalem ID cards. Palestinian leader Faisal Husseini puts the number already revoked at over 1,000.

Another absurdity: With the family reunification work frozen because of the 1995 investigation of bribery and corruption in the

Jerusalem branch of the Ministry of the Interior, 10,000 Jerusalemite requests remain unattended, without the applicants being informed.

WHO is a Jerusalemite? Interviewed in Orient House, Husseini doesn't conceal his bitter resentment against policies

"which treat us as foreigners in our own capital. When we tried to build in Jerusalem, our houses were demolished. So we went to live in the outskirts."

"Now the status of these Palestinian Jerusalemites is jeopardized. We will defend them, come what may."

Husseini sees Israeli policies toward Palestinian Jerusalemites as a blatant contradiction of the Oslo Accords.

When the subject of Jerusalem (and not only East Jerusalem, he stresses) was held over for the final status negotiations, unilateral action on the issue was forbidden.

"If the Israelis force our hand through taking our land and our ID cards, we will mobilize public

opinion in the Arab world and in the international community to our defense," he says. "Without assuming the rights of the Palestinian population of Jerusalem, the whole peace process is endangered."

These rights are not only political. They touch on family reunification, but also on the registration of babies, the ability to work in Jerusalem under closure, education, National Insurance payments involving visas like health and pensions, travel abroad, and provision, at age 16, of ID cards for children.

The authorities have been understandably reluctant to provide figures for the number of IDs revoked according to the new policies, which human rights organizations call "quiet transfer." However, the Ministry of the Interior finally succumbed to pressure and agreed, at the end of January 1997, to give some of the figures, as long as the work involved is paid for.

Officials dealing with the subject dismiss accusations of discrimination, claiming that everything is in order.

In reply, Ms. Kathleen Riley from the US Consulate in Jerusalem said, "It's like you tell your neighbor to stop beating his dog, and he simply claims he doesn't have a dog at all."

The author is co-managing editor of the Palestine-Israel Journal.

Israel. Move somewhere else for seven years — be it Rhode Island or Ramallah — and you lose permanent resident status.

Now we are in a race to create facts on the ground. And since the only thing Oslo really prohibits in terms of not changing the situation is additional Israeli annexations or the declaration of a Palestinian state, much can be done.

The Arab world is pouring many millions of dollars into buying property and building in Jerusalem. Jews are also trying to solidify their stand in the city. And as part of this "race," Israel is exercising its legal right under a law which has been on the books since 1974 to deny residency to Arabs who refused to become citizens and left Jerusalem for seven years or more.

The Arabs of Jerusalem have another option. Noted Arab journalist Daoud Kottab recently wrote on his Internet Home Page that "the only options left for Palestinians are independence in a free and sovereign (Palestinian) state or integration (into Israeli) with full political rights." The Arabs of Jerusalem can already exercise the integration option.

Is it fair? Some might call it too fair; others not fair enough. But when I recall the photographs in that small museum in the Carso and try to imagine what would have happened had we lost the war in 1967, I must say, quite frankly, that I sleep well at night.

The writer directs IMRA (Independent Media Review & Analysis).

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### RABBIS IN WONDERLAND

Sir, — It is comforting to read David Forman's assurances (February 5) that Reform and Conservative conversions in Israel are "done in strict adherence to Halacha."

If true, the transformation that has overtaken these heterodox movements is truly remarkable to behold. In America, Reform rabbis officiate at mixed marriages in churches between Jews and non-Jews; permit homosexual "rabbis" to serve in their pulpits and refuse to condemn same-sex marriages; do not follow even minimal halachic requirements for conversions; preside over congregations where intermarriage runs to almost 70 percent; often officiate at religious services without kippa or tallit, and often do not themselves observe minimal Jewish halachot such as Shabbat and kashrut. The Conservative movement, though less radical, is only a few steps behind.

David Forman would have us believe that these same rabbis, once they step on the holy soil of Israel, undergo a radical transformation and become concerned with Halacha. Would that this were true. Israel is truly a magical place, but all this is stretching things a bit.

(RABBI) EMANUEL FELDMAN

Jerusalem.

### SWEDEN DURING WORLD WAR II

Sir, — I refer to Esther Abitoul's letter of February 5, "European hypocrisy."

I am somewhat reluctant to judge Sweden too harshly for trading with Nazi Germany. If they had not done so, they probably would have been occupied by the Germans, like Denmark. Unlike Switzerland, Sweden helpfully opened its borders to receive us Jews, who had to flee from Denmark. Had Sweden been occupied by the Nazis, I most probably would have died in early age.

WERNER BRAUN

Jerusalem.

### WRONG ANALOGY

Sir, — Seldom does one encounter such lack of logic as in Yosef Goell's article "An urgency that cannot bear delay" (February 7). His analogy of the US fight against the Viet-Cong with Israel's fight against Hizbullah is ludicrous. The decision of the US to leave Vietnam did not represent any danger to the security of the US. There are no Viet-Cong on the US borders.

DR. JACOB ROSIN

Netanya.

### DISRESPECT

Sir, — The whole House of Israel is in tears and our hearts are broken as we hear the media reports on the terrible tragedy of the 73 soldiers and airmen who died in the helicopter crash.

We saw on television the special Knesset memorial session which began with a recitation of Psalms. It was amazing and very sad to see that our leadership did not deem it necessary to cover their heads at least during these few moments of prayer.

When President Clinton visited Israel, he covered his head at our memorial services, and when Sarah Netanyahu visited the pope, she put on a hat.

J. KREINDLER

Jerusalem.

### NO HATE

Sir, — My old friend, Misha Louvish (Letters, February 6) misread my article on the "liberal" elite. I did not condemn the left for criticizing the government (I myself sometimes do it), but for sabotaging its udemocraticality through exploitation of the societal position of its elite. My charges were incited by an article on this page a few days previously by a left-wing columnist luxuriating in the power displayed by his favored elite in thwarting the will of the majority of the nation.

I wrote no "diatribe" against the Supreme Court, and indeed I have nothing but respect for all its members' legal talents. What I did do was bemoan the fact that, when sitting on the High Court of Justice and ruling on matters other than law, many of the justices are guided by their liberal, elitist outlooks, which often do not jibe with those of most people of this country.

Louvish hyperbolizes in calling my article a "hymn of hate" (raging hull indeed), and I am not a little surprised that you picked out the phrase to head his letter. I admit that there are quite a lot of people I dislike, but "hate"? No, I do not think so.

N. DAVID GROSS

Beit Zayit.

### FORGIVENESS

Sir, — With deep respect for the suffering of the Holocaust victims, I favor every effort to improve the material living conditions of the survivors. As a Swiss, I am ashamed that, in the last decades, some of our institutions didn't take every measure necessary to reveal all relevant facts for restitution. The Swiss government or banks must take action now.

Nevertheless I cannot agree with MK Avraham Herschson who is quoted on January 16 as saying: "The Germans murdered, the Swiss inherited and the world kept silent." Such simplifications help nobody to calm down and discover the whole truth for a real reconciliation. According to the Washington agreement of May 25, 1946, Switzerland paid SF 250 million in reparations to the Allies because it had traded in stolen Nazi gold. Did the Allies distribute this money to Nazi victims? They did not: it still lies in the safes of the US Federal Reserve Bank and the Bank of England. Meanwhile its value amounts to SF 1.2 billion, but practically nobody speaks about that money. This is original Swiss money and it could be paid out at once just as it could have been paid out during the last 50 years. Nobody is free of failures in the whole tragedy and we should all work together and commemorate the victims by praying for forgiveness.

MARTIN KARNER

Zurich.

### REPUBLICAN

Sir, — I am glad to see the New Republican squeezing New York liberals.

How to make a physicist wash his mouth with soap.

George Johnson

2

### MERCENARIES

How to make a physicist wash his mouth with soap.

George Johnson

3

### PARADISE

How to make a physicist wash his mouth with soap.

Donald G. McNeil

**fantasy island**

**Paradise**

**Apple Bee**

**New Republican**

**Squeezing New York liberals.**

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**Relatively Obscure**

**How to make a physicist wash his mouth with soap**

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**Paradise of Soldiers**

**Mercenaries and their new corporate face.**

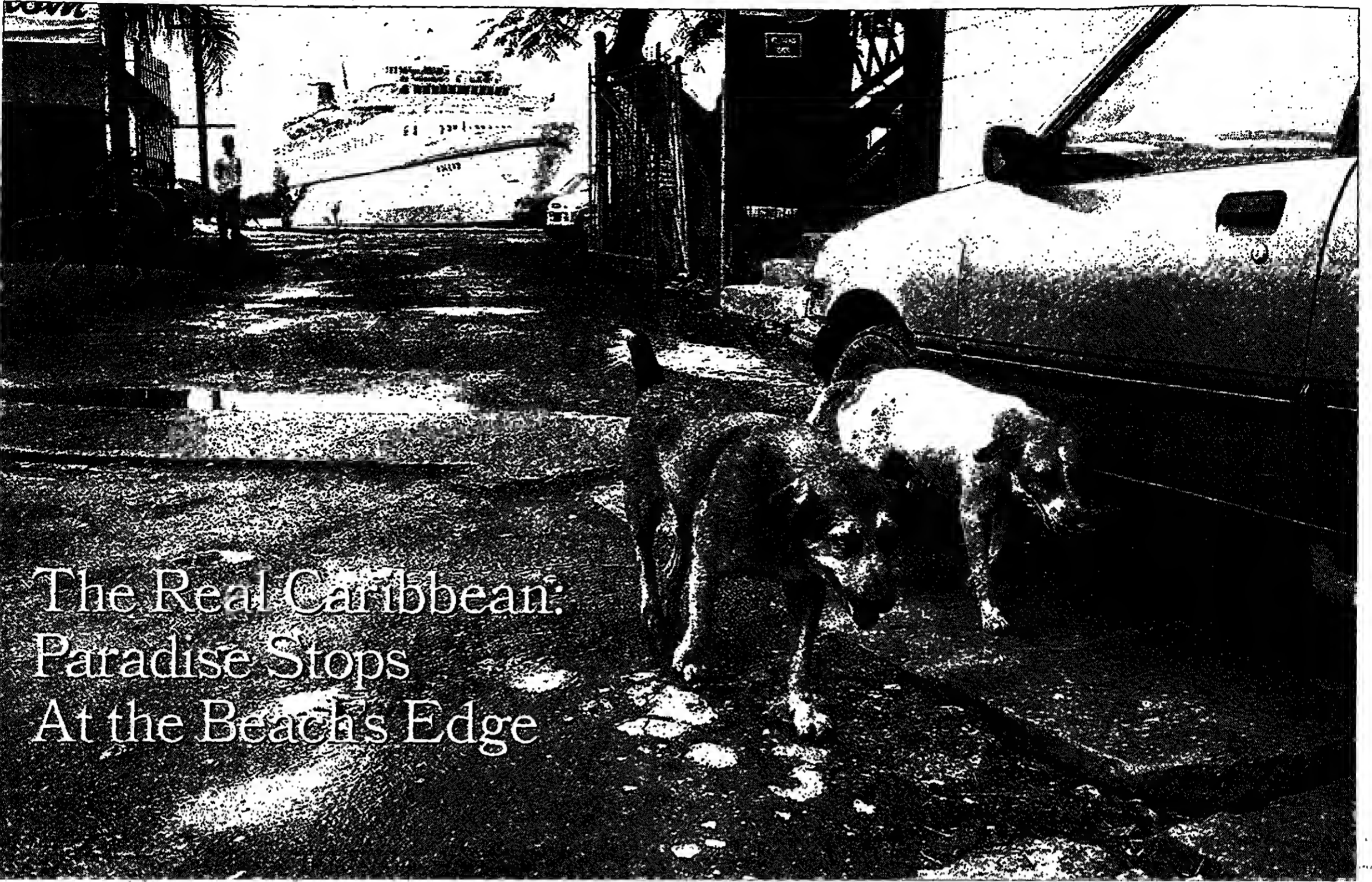
**Donald G. McNeil**

Handwritten signature or mark.

The Jerusalem Post



## Fantasy Islands



The cruise ship Bolero drops off passengers at St. John's Harbor in Antigua every other week, but few of them venture beyond the duty-free shops and bars. They won't see the one-room wooden shacks beyond the beaches.

## The Real Caribbean: Paradise Stops At the Beach's Edge

By LARRY ROHTER

St. John's, Antigua  
It is a deliciously sunny Saturday morning at the peak of the tourist season, and at Heritage Quay here, hundreds of passengers are being disgorged from a pair of towering cruise ships into shops and restaurants with names like Smoke & Booze or Rasta Pasta. As a band serenades the visitors with a reggae version of "Mr. Bojangles," a middle-aged American suddenly begins to dance with a T-shirt vendor. "Did we mention that this is paradise?" asks one of the brochures handed to arriving tourists.

Or so it seems to outsiders. Yet this is also the place that the novelist Jamaica Kincaid, who grew up here, describes as a "monument to rottenness," an island nation barely the size of Queens that has been dominated for half a century by a single family whose doddering patriarch "perhaps by now thinks that the government is his own business." And what about that mysterious electronic listening post, bristling with antennas, radar and satellite dishes, that the American military operates just across from the airport where the charter flights from Chicago and Manchester land?  
Beneath its frequently bland and cheerful surface, the Caribbean is a place long haunted by intrigue, malfeasance and poverty — and by the unyielding hopes of generations of people who have fought back against

the buccaneers who surround them. More often than not, though, that reality remains invisible to the 15 million visitors who come from North America and Western Europe each season.

### What Tourists Don't See

Seeking sun and relaxation, they usually leave without having made contact with the small, tightly knit societies they are visiting or with the problems those islands must confront on a daily basis. For casual visitors, the only inconvenience likely to arise is that their hotel or travel arrangements may be disrupted, as occurred last week when the threat of a strike by American Airlines pilots led to the cancellation of scores

of flights before President Clinton stepped in to order a 60-day reprieve.  
"From what I've seen, it's just a lot of shops," said Ed Vrabel, a passenger from Hickory, N.C., whose cruise ship was on its way from St. Lucia to St. Martin. "All these islands seem pretty much the same, and none of them look as nicely kept as we're used to in the States."  
For the 63,000 people of Antigua, the central fact of their lives is the Bird family dynasty, which has controlled the politics and economy of this island 250 miles east-southeast of Puerto Rico ever since Vere C. Bird founded the Antigua Labor Party in the mid-1940's, when Antigua began a slow transition from British rule to

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### New Republican Squeezing New York liberals.

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### Relatively Obscene How to make a physicist wash his mouth with soap.

By George Johnson

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### Fortune of Soldiers Mercenaries and their new corporate face.

By Donald G. McNeil Jr.

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### On Balance

## Deficit: Public Enemy No. 1, It's Not

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

WASHINGTON  
AS the Senate last week debated a proposed constitutional amendment to require a balanced Federal budget, the Senators in favor would not let the opponents forget where the public stands.  
"Between 68 and 78 percent of the American people have always been for this balanced budget amendment," Senator Orrin G. Hatch of Utah declared on the floor. "They come from all walks of life, from every group."

The balanced budget amendment, of which Senator Hatch is chief sponsor, is a central part of Republican doctrine. It would require the budget to be balanced by 2002 or two years after the amendment was ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states, whichever would come later. The requirement could be waived only by three-fifths majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives.

Mr. Hatch's assessment of the public's view has been conventional wisdom here for years. Politicians were thought to be risking their political skins if they dared vote against the constitutional amendment.  
Opinion polls seemed to bear out that perception. In a CBS News poll released Feb. 4, 78 percent of those surveyed said "yes" when they were asked, "Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution that would require the Federal Government to balance its budget by the year 2002?"

But a close examination of the evidence indicated that the conventional wisdom may be wrong. When the question was framed differently, people came down against changing the Constitution. Last month, this question was asked in the latest New York Times/CBS News poll: "Do you think re-

quiring the Federal Government to balance the budget is the kind of issue you would like to change the Constitution for, or isn't balancing the budget that kind of issue?"

The counterintuitive result: 39 percent said they would change the Constitution, but 49 percent said it was not that kind of issue. Linda DiVall, a Republican pollster, said the finding was consistent with her experience. "People agree in principle we should move toward a balanced budget," she said. "But once the Constitution is brought into play, people say: 'Wait a minute. Why do we need to bring the Constitution into it? Why

### No one seems to have lost a seat last year just because he voted against a balanced budget amendment.

can't the politicians work it out themselves?"

This may be why, despite all the threats of retribution, no member of Congress seems to have lost a seat in last year's election for voting against an almost identical constitutional amendment in 1995. That measure was adopted in the House then but fell one vote short in the Senate of the two-thirds majority needed to change the Constitution.  
Whatever the value of balancing the budget, the matter does not appear to be high on the public's list of priorities.

When Mark Penn, one of President Clinton's chief pollsters, asked voters right after last November's election what the most

important issues were to them, only 9 percent said a balanced budget was. All this may explain, at least in part, why politicians who have stuck their necks out in recent years to lower the budget deficit have often fared poorly in the next election. For instance:

In 1985, Republican Senators took the lead in pushing through Congress the Gramm-Rudman legislation, which was supposed to lead to a balanced budget by 1991. In the 1988 election, Republicans lost control of the Senate.

In 1990, President George Bush bit the bullet on raising taxes and got a budget enacted that included strict limits on spending. The effect was a substantially lower deficit than would otherwise have been the case. Mr. Bush, of course, lost the Presidency two years later.

In 1993, President Clinton set aside a slew of campaign promises and persuaded most Democrats in Congress — against their best judgment, in many cases — to support a budget that included a further tax increase and more spending limits. Every Republican in Congress voted against it. In 1994, Democrats lost control of the House and Senate, and no Republican lawmaker running for re-election was defeated.

Then last winter, the Republicans in the House accepted the longest Government shutdown in history rather than compromise on their budget-cutting measures. Their popularity plummeted, and 20 Republican representatives lost their seats in last year's elections.

Robert D. Reischauer, the former director of the Congressional Budget Office, offers this maxim: "No good budget deed goes unpunished."

One reason, of course, is that people find the notion of balancing the budget less appealing when they discover that it means

### The New York Times/CBS NEWS POLL

#### Mixed Messages

In gauging the public's desire to balance the Federal budget, it depends on how the question is framed

"Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution that would require the Federal Government to balance its budget by the year 2002?"

Favor 76%

Oppose 17%

CBS News poll taken Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 1997.

"Do you think requiring the Federal Government to balance the budget is the kind of issue you would like to change the Constitution for, or isn't balancing the budget that kind of issue?"

Change Constitution 39%

Not that kind of issue 49%

New York Times/CBS News poll taken Jan. 14-17, 1997.

"If you had to choose, would you prefer balancing the Federal budget or preventing Social Security from being significantly cut?"

Balance budget 27%

Prevent Social Security cuts 69%

New York Times/CBS News poll taken Oct. 22-25, 1995.

Based on nationwide telephone surveys.

The New York Times

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What a

# The Nation

## If a Republican Seizes the Center, Watch Out

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

FOR anyone trying to assess the state of the Democratic Party, the best place to look may not be Washington — where President Clinton just had the rare pleasure, for a Democrat, of celebrating re-election to the White House — but in New York City.

A mayoral election is taking shape in this most Democratic of cities, and the contest so far suggests that the health of the Democratic Party is much worse than it seemed when measured by Mr. Clinton's victory last November. The Democratic Party in New York City — historically a source of party icons and national ideas — is stumbling at the Mayoral starting line. It is wrestling with the likelihood that for the first time in 80 years, a Republican mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani, will be re-elected by running as a Republican.

And while some of that has to do with the specific circumstances of New York (particularly, Mr. Giuliani's incumbency and political resourcefulness, a declining crime rate and a strong economy), it is also a measure of the sickness of the city's Democratic Party — and, by extension, the ill health of the Democratic Party across the nation.

### 'Type A'

Nothing dramatized this better than the announcement last week by the former Mayor, David N. Dinkins, who lost to Mr. Giuliani in 1993, that he would not challenge Mr. Giuliani again. Few people really expected Mr. Dinkins, who is 69, to run, and polls suggested that had he tried, he would not have succeeded. But it was a reminder to Democrats of what is wrong for them in New York. Here was a voice from the past who, with a few sentences, instantly obscured four people who have spent much of the past few years preparing to run for Mayor.

And Mr. Dinkins did that with a political message that — if forceful in its denunciation of Mr. Giuliani (he described the Mayor as a "Type A personality") — contributed little to the ideological evolution of the party itself. By the end, the reaction which greeted Mr. Dinkins' near-entry into the race suggested that in groping for a challenger to Mr. Giuliani, the party was profoundly unhappy with the existing field.

The election is still nine months away, and this is New York. But the episode served as a reminder that the party of Roosevelt, Koch and two Cuomos has this year produced what appears to be a cast of candidates with relatively little new to say. It is, arguably, not any Democrat but Mr. Giuliani who is mak-



Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani at City Hall. Behind him is a portrait of Henry Clay. One of them is known as the Great Compromiser.

ing the New Democratic case — preaching one day in favor of immigration and the next against Newt Gingrich. He has left very little breathing room for the Democratic field in New York. If Mr. Clinton's rightward shift showed that centrist Democrats can make inroads against the conservative Republican tide, Mr. Giuliani's success in a city where Democrats outnumber Republicans by almost five to one suggests even greater potential power to centrist Republicans.

"New York is the perfect example of what should be frightening the Democratic Party," said Deborah (Arnie) Arnesen, a Democrat and former New Hampshire state Representative and unsuccessful candidate for Congress in 1996. "If they can't figure out what to say even there, then something is really wrong. We have to evaluate what is happening."

There are some Democrats who argue that their weakness so far in the mayoral

race is a local phenomenon, the latest spasm from a party still trying to emerge from the long shadows of Edward I. Koch and Mario M. Cuomo. And a few Democrats argue against drawing national lessons from New York, insisting that the more instructive lesson was Mr. Clinton's victory last November.

But Mr. Clinton's re-election was not based on championing either old or new Democratic ideas. And while Mr. Clinton was winning the White House, Democrats were losing seats in the Senate, and their gains in the House owed much to the unpopularity of Newt Gingrich, the House Speaker. The more meaningful election might well turn out to have been that of 1994, when Republicans took control of the House.

Even optimistic Democrats view these times as transitional. "We're still getting up off the floor after 1994," said Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic party's unsuccessful

candidate for President in 1988. "But I think there's a great opportunity here."

All of which explains why what's going on in New York is so potentially important. It is a city that has always been "a bellwether in Democratic politics," said David C. King, an associate professor at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.

The field for the September Democratic primary is made up of four people. The two leaders are Borough Presidents Ruth W. Messinger of Manhattan and Fernando Ferrer of the Bronx. Two others — the Rev. Al Sharpton and City Councilman Sal F. Albanese of Brooklyn — are considered long shots.

The early maneuverings of the front-runners are instructive of the party's plight: Both have devoted considerable energy to shedding the liberal Democratic label.

Ms. Messinger was once identified with many New York liberal causes of the 1970's and 1980's. Now she resists any attempt at

ideological identification. As she backs away from such long-held positions as her support for regulating commercial rents, she argues that the causes she took up in the past reflected the times and the Upper West Side district she represented in the City Council.

Mr. Ferrer did Ms. Messinger one better. He began his campaign by renouncing his lifelong opposition to the death penalty (an issue that has nothing to do with being Mayor, but often a lot to do with winning the job). He has also made of point of his opposition to certain forms of late-term abortions.

### In New York, Giuliani is playing the role of New Democrat.

The candidates and Mr. Dinkins, who endorsed Ms. Messinger last week, have described last week's events as a transformation. "It represents a new day in politics," Mr. Sharpton said. "There is nobody in this primary that is connected to the old 60's type of liberal Democratic coalition. It's almost a passing of the torch to another generation."

But it is unclear exactly what is being passed, and to whom. Mr. Ferrer and Ms. Messinger have done little beyond attempting to step on their own roots. If there are any new ideas about what Democrats should be doing about governing, or even winning elections, they have yet to be heard.

It is in this environment that Mr. Giuliani has shaped a distinctive political personality, blending fiscal conservatism, crime-fighting and emphasis on improving the quality of life in New York.

### Sending a Message

In that regard, he has been much more active than Mr. Clinton. But like Mr. Clinton, he has blurred party labels, taking the endorsement of the Liberal Party and stressing his support for issues like abortion rights.

So the Democrats might end 1997 finding little of value coming out of the political laboratory of New York. By contrast, Mr. Giuliani's political experiments appear to be doing well — should Republicans political leaders, who have never liked him very much, choose to take a look next November.

"Giuliani is a message to his party," said Ms. Arnesen, the New Hampshire Democrat. "It is: 'Look what's happening in a traditional Democratic enclave. I'm winning, and they can't even figure out how to run against me.'"

### Watch That Air Bag

## When Safety Devices Bite Back

By MATTHEW L. WALD

WASHINGTON  
THE Air National Guard F-16 flying near Atlantic City thought it was swooping in unobserved on a Nations Air Boeing 727 on Feb. 5. Instead, it set off computerized anti-collision alarms in the passenger jet's cockpit, and the civilian pilot's emergency maneuvers — a steep dive, then a climb — threw three people to the floor of the passenger cabin. The alarms were meant to increase safety, to prevent mid-air collisions, but instead they created risk. The F-16, for that matter, was also built to keep Americans safe from risk, but from foreign threats, not domestic airliners.

Technology, on a good day, is used to make products safer — irons that turn themselves off, automobile brakes that prevent skids and car phones that make it easier to call for help. Car phones may be useful after accidents, but, as statistics released last week showed, they might actually be the cause of some accidents. When safety technology presents its own threat, it's the cloud around the silver lining; sometimes adding safety features doesn't really make things safer.

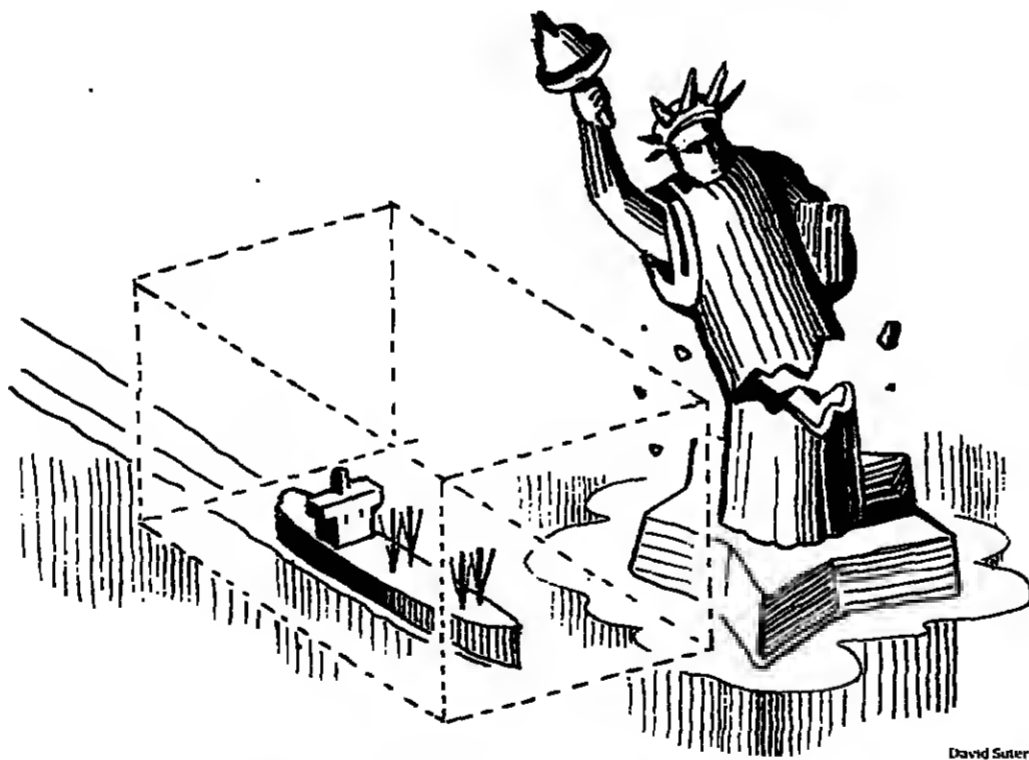
The aviation industry is wondering about this paradox, and not just in its anti-collision systems. Precision navigation poses another problem. In the middle of the ocean, there is no radar coverage. When jets are flying over those radarless areas, each is assigned to a different block of space. For years, air traffic controllers say, if two planes were assigned to the same block by mistake it probably wouldn't matter. Navigation instruments were so imprecise that it was unlikely they would really be near each other.

### Too Precise

Now, with the precision of the global positioning system — a halo of satellites launched by the Pentagon and widely used by civilians — each plane is precisely at the center of its assigned track, and two planes might follow instructions closely enough to collide.

The hazards of the new precision are not limited to aviation. In New York Harbor, ships are also equipped with instruments that navigate by the global positioning system. But the ships cannot rely completely on this system because it does not match existing charts' rendition of where channels and bulkheads are. A pilot who uses a precise computer-generated map to navigate but who also looks out the window for landmarks will discover that if he really knows where he is, then the Statue of Liberty, obstructions and channels are in the wrong place by several yards.

A little knowledge coupled with precise technology, can sometimes be a problem. For example, automobile air bags have crouched patiently for years in dashboards and steering wheel hubs, waiting to lean out at up to 200 miles per hour to



David Suter

intercept a human face racing towards an unyielding automobile part. For years those air bags made everyone feel safer, until a few air bags hit children hard enough to kill them. Now everyone feels unsafe again.

All these events seemed to touch a nerve, even among professionals: pilots and controllers, in the two days after the first F-16 incident, reported two other events of fighters in the wrong place. These reports, experts say, were probably more indicative of heightened sensitivity, or maybe chance, than of an actual epidemic of wayward fighter jocks.

"People are particularly outraged when things designed to make them safe make them at risk," said Peter M. Sandman, a risk consultant based in Newton, Mass. In the case of the F-16 incident, both the anti-collision system on the civilian jet and the fighter plane itself were supposed to keep people safe. "The idea that something designed to help you winds up hurting you triggers that infantile how-dare-you-you're-supposed-to-be-on-my-side response," he said.

Flying is still the safest commercial mode of travel, and with the introduction in recent years of wind-shear detectors, better engines and other advances, it has never been safer. But no one likes a safety device that adds risk, even if it adds a net benefit. And aviation is an area in which everyone's risk perception is what Mr. Sandman gently referred to as "non-statistical." When passengers feel they are not in control they become extremely risk-averse, he said. And the public has a low tolerance for any such risk.

This comes at a time when the Air Force is facing its own problems. One is that the Air Force is struggling with the rest of the Pentagon for its image and its slice of the national budget in these years of peace. Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, Democrat of New Jersey, an aviation buff and member of the Intelligence Committee, quickly asked the Pentagon to justify the Air National Guard's training activities.

And the event recalled, however peripherally, T.W.A. Flight 800, which exploded last July in circumstances that still have not been explained. In that vacuum, the idea that the accident was caused by "friendly fire" from an American plane continues to reverberate, even though there is no evidence for a missile of any kind.

### Ultimate Safety

Pilots say that warplanes in training drills do sometimes use their radars to lock onto passing civilian flights, although the Air Force maintains that this was not what was happening with last week's 727 encounter; the Air Force simply was trying to find out what the other plane was.

The ultimate safety features on planes, though, are the people who fly them. One cause of apprehension is the image of Air National Guard pilots as reckless weekend warriors with top gun fantasies, the opposite of stable airline pilots. In fact, the F-16 pilot that got too close to the 727 was not a weekend warrior but a full time instructor. In that he differed from most Guard pilots: they are airline pilots, moonlighting.

## The Deficit Isn't Public Enemy No. 1

Continued From Page 1

they have to pay higher taxes or lose Government services they enjoy.

For example, the same surveys that have shown over the years that the public strongly supports the balanced budget amendment have also found that the public opposes such an amendment by a large margin if they believe it would lead to lower Social Security benefits.

In a New York Times/CBS News poll in October 1995, people were asked, "If you had to choose, would you prefer balancing the Federal budget or preventing Social Security from being significantly cut?" Only 27 percent favored balancing the budget; 69 percent favored maintaining Social Security benefits.

Two years ago, Democrats in Congress seized on the Social Security issue to create just enough opposition to block the amendment. They may be succeeding again this year.

Last week, Republican leaders in the House of Representatives postponed further action on the constitutional change indefinitely when they realized they might not have enough votes to get their amendment out of the Judiciary Committee, much less have it adopted on the floor. The leaders said they were hoping Senate approval would create momentum for the measure in the House.

But approval in the Senate is very

much in doubt. Senators in both parties agree that the outcome hinges on the votes of three freshman Democrats who did not announce their position: Tim Johnson of South Dakota, Mary L. Landrieu of Louisiana and Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey. Assuming all other senators vote as expected, two of the three freshmen must support the amendment to reach the necessary two-thirds majority.

With the budget deficit last year the smallest since Ronald Reagan became President, some lawmakers may feel less pressure than they once did to pass a constitutional amendment.

But if the measure does fail, it will probably not be on the merits but on the politics. Members of Congress may have discovered that voting against it is not the poison pill they once thought it was.

"This is just not a do-or-die litmus test issue for most voters," said Geoffrey Garin, who has conducted polls for dozens of Democratic politicians in recent years.

That was certainly the experience of Senator Kent Conrad, a Democrat from North Dakota, who cast what was seen as the swing vote against the amendment two years ago. "When I played a central role in defeating the last one," Senator Conrad said last week, "my numbers shot up."



President Clinton's proposed budget, in the spotlight earlier this month.

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# The World Pocketing The Wages Of War

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr.

**T**HERE'S nothing new about mercenary armies. The tradition goes back through the Hessians at Valley Forge and the condottieri who overthrew Italian city-states and even to the time of Achilles, who sulked in his tent because he thought Agamemnon was unfairly dividing the spoils of the Trojan war.

These days Kisangani, in central Zaire, is the proving ground for how much mercenary soldiers can pull off. Isolated from the Zairian capital, Kinshasa, by hundreds of miles of jungle, the city is the target of a rebel offensive that began on the Rwandan border. It is also the headquarters for Government forces planning a counterattack, and they are getting considerable help there from mercenaries.

Soldiers from Serbia and the Ukraine are among them. And unconfirmed reports say soldiers from France, Belgium, South Africa, Britain, Croatia and other countries may also be trying to teach the Zairian Army and allied Rwandan Hutu militias how to fight — or preparing to do the fighting for them.

The world always seems to have a fresh pool of mercenaries, depending on which veterans have lately been dumped on the market with lethal skills. Just as American soldiers took the place of French ones in Vietnam in the 1960's, American mercenaries followed French ones onto the world stage, creating, among other things, a market for Soldier of Fortune magazine, an advertising forum for the breed. Military experts say there is now a lot of former Soviet-bloc talent for rent.

## Effective

But the very model of a modern band of mercenaries isn't European. It's a South African concern, Executive Outcomes, with offices in Pretoria and London, whose glossy brochures announce such services as "armored warfare" and "sniper training." It is composed largely of white officers and black foot soldiers who fought in elite units of the South African Army during its incursion into Angola, South Africa's Vietnam, in the 1980's.

Its two best-known operations were its work for Angola's Government from late 1993 to mid-1996 and for the Government of Sierra Leone from March 1995 until last month. Originally called in to guard riverside diamond-mining areas in both countries, it expanded its duties — nominally to train soldiers, but in fact its men led troops and flew combat missions against rebels and outlaws. Executive Outcomes says it was paid in cash, but in both cases it is widely rumored to have received mining concessions as security.

The company's combat effectiveness in Angola is credited with forcing the rebel organization of Joao Savimbi to stop fighting and negotiate for a place in the Government. In Sierra Leone, it is acknowledged to have pacified swaths of the country long enough for elections to be held. Its work is often held up — and not only by its salesmen — as a contrast to multinational flops in Somalia, Chad, Liberia and Angola sponsored by the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity.

Executive Outcomes says it has no operations in Zaire. "We have no contract there and we have never been in Zaire," said Eben Barlow, chairman of the firm's holding company.

Mercenary work doesn't come cheap, whoever does it. Khareen Pech, a South African-based journalist who has written extensively about Executive Outcomes, said its own costs to support roughly 500 men fighting in Sierra Leone were over \$1.5 million a month, and its bill to the Government probably more than twice that.

Infantrymen are paid around \$2,000 a month, while specialists like pilots earn \$5,000 and up. That's triple what they'd earn if they could stay in South Africa's



Africa offers opportunities to mercenaries. Above, a Soviet helicopter used in Sierra Leone in 1995 by Executive Outcomes, a South African company of hired guns.

rapidly shrinking military. Ms. Pech said she'd heard recent salary offers in Zaire were slightly higher.

A valued and expensive service is air support. In Angola and Sierra Leone, according to World Airnews magazine, Executive Outcomes flew two used Boeing 727's as supply planes, bought for \$550,000 each from American Airlines. It also regularly flew Soviet Mi-17 armed transport helicopters, Mi-24 Hind gunships, MiG-23 jet fighter-bombers and a squadron of Swiss Pilatus training planes converted to fire air-to-ground rockets. According to some estimates, helicopters cost \$5,000 an hour just fly and maintain. Jets cost far more.

Zaire is an impoverished country, though it does have large areas of mineral wealth. And its President, Mobutu Sese Seko, can find ways to pay for what he wants. He has stolen millions from the treasury, enabling him to recuperate from prostate-cancer surgery in splendid surroundings on the French Riviera. He can presumably afford to spend heavily on mercenaries, but whether this will keep him in power is another question.

Some reports say Laurent Kabila, the leader of the rebellion, has 24,000 men in the field, including the Banyamulenge — ethnic Tutsis who rebelled after bullying by Hutu refugees and Zairian soldiers — regular troops from Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi (no friends of Mr. Mobutu) and a hodgepodge of other fighters. The armies of Rwanda and Uganda, military experts say, are among the region's more effective.

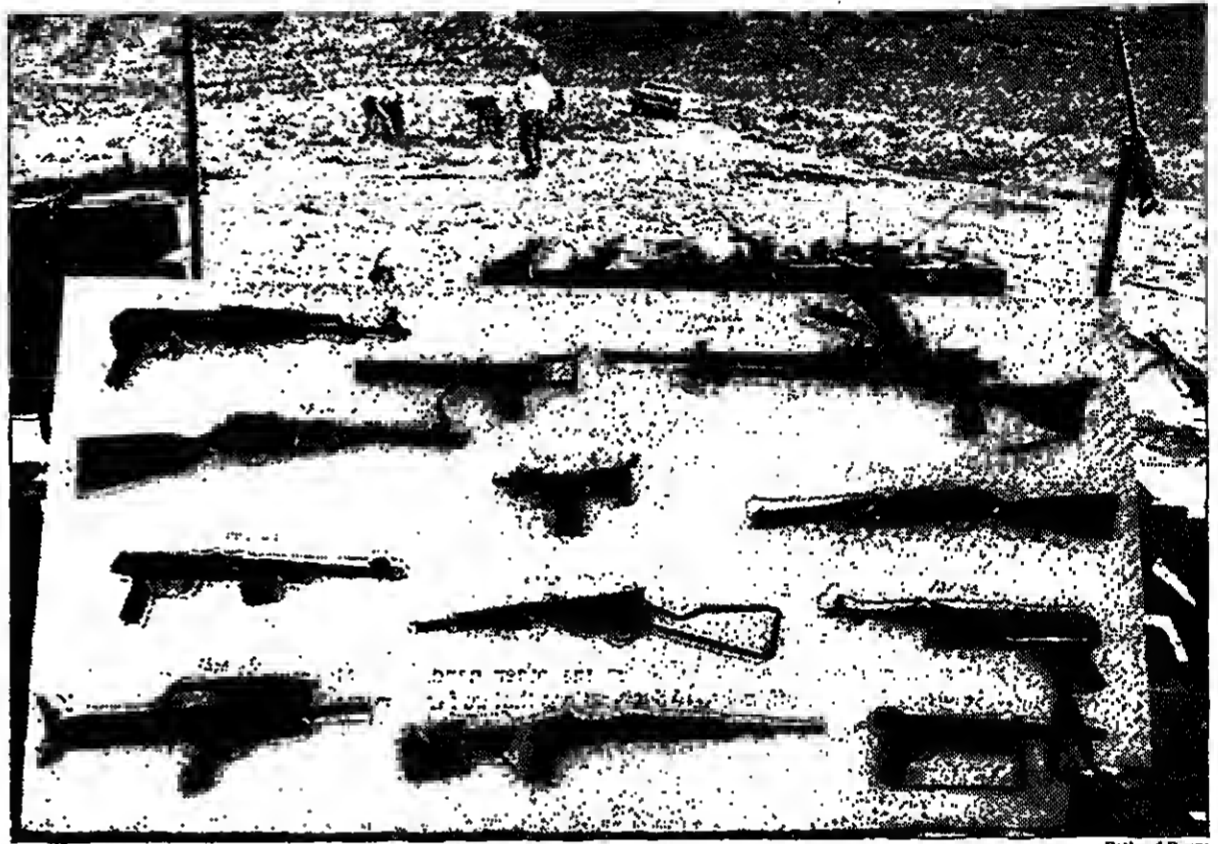
## Embarrassing

While the mercenaries have some air power, most fighting is likely to be done on the ground, given the thick forests — and ground combat is not Zaire's strong suit.

"I've talked to South Africans who fought alongside the Zairian Army in the past, and 'dismissive' is too light a term for the way they talk about them," said Richard Cornwell, a Pretoria expert on mercenary wars. "They actually found guys sabotaging their own armored personnel carriers so they wouldn't have to go into battle."

As mercenary armies play a larger role in African politics, debate about the morality of using them has grown. In South Africa, the post-apartheid Government funds Executive Outcomes' embarrassing, and is preparing legislation to outlaw mercenary recruitment here.

Others — and not just Mr. Barlow of Executive Outcomes — argue that mercenaries are a palatable evil given the decay and civil war that some African countries have fallen into, along with the ineffectiveness of the



Have submachine gun, will travel: a firing-range scene at a 1991 Soldier of Fortune convention in Las Vegas.

United Nations and the refusal of the United States and Europe to do anything.

Journalists covering the fighting in Sierra Leone say Executive Outcomes mercenaries sometimes machine-gunned civilians from its helicopters while pursuing rebels. And the company is rumored to be hanging onto diamond concessions that will pay it far more than it contracted for. But local chiefs still asked the President to keep the mercenaries off after their contract ran out, because life without them was worse: both rebels and renegade Government soldiers had preyed on civilians.

Mercenary armies, the argument goes, don't recruit children. They don't have to loot in order to eat. They

don't have the local hatreds that underpin genocide.

Also, because mercenaries are so expensive, it forces the tyrants who hire them to sharpen their thinking: Perhaps this province isn't worth fighting for. Perhaps peace would cost less.

The countervailing argument is that mercenaries are simply the proof that whoever has the gold makes the rules. "The lesson for dictators is that you can mismanage a country and then call in the Ghostbusters to sort it out for you," said Mark Malan, a former South African soldier who is now a private defense researcher here. "If they prop up a corrupt regime in a failed state, so what? What long-term solution is that?"

## Are Canadians Yankees, Too?

# Cuba's Bridge to the United States

By ANTHONY DePALMA

**G**UESTS at Havana's old Hotel Nacional who watch television can now choose between grainy black-and-white films extolling the glory of the 1959 Communist Revolution or feature films on HBO like the cold war thriller "The Hunt for Red October."

The hotel's new telephone service enables quick computer links with New York via AT&T, and hotel guests can get a warm can of Coca-Cola from their mini-bars.

Nearly 40 years since the United States placed an economic embargo on Cuba to stifle its economy and squeeze Fidel Castro from power, Mr. Castro still struts around Havana in designer leather boots. American goods, along with the Yankee dollar, can be easily found all over, even though there are few Americans to be seen.

What's going on? Cuba has managed to build bridges to the United States without dealing with the Federal Government directly. It buys regularly from the subsidiaries of American companies operating in countries like Mexico, where Cuba's Coca-Cola comes from. But one of Cuba's most valuable connections to the mainland and an increasingly eager business partner has been Canada, America's closest ally and biggest trade partner.

To the Cubans, Canadians are just like Americans — they're big, they act rich and they speak English. But while the United States has tried to isolate Cuba since the Communists took over in 1959, Canada has tried to engage the country both economically and diplomatically, much to Washington's annoyance.

With last year's passage of the Helms-Burton law, which imposes sanctions on companies from Canada and other coun-

tries doing business in Cuba, United States foreign policy has clashed openly with the trade policies of some of its strongest allies. Several European countries have challenged the Helms-Burton law in a complaint before the World Trade Organization. But for the moment the challenge has been postponed, leaving Canada alone in its defiant response to the law. Ottawa already has passed a law prohibiting Canadian companies from complying with the reporting provisions of Helms-Burton or paying any fines.

Washington itself shifted ground a bit on Cuba last week. The Clinton Administration said that 10 American news organizations would be permitted to circumvent the economic embargo and open bureaus in Cuba, speeding dollars on rent, electricity and other goods.

Still, while Washington has spent 40 years scheming against Cuba, Canada has spent that time making deals. Ottawa, a far less rigid cold warrior than Washington, never broke off diplomatic relations. Its companies have poured over half a billion dollars into nickel mines, luxury hotels and other businesses, often involving property once owned by Americans. Two-way trade between the two countries has doubled in the last four years and now exceeds \$400 million a year. Although Spain, Italy and other European nations also trade with Cuba, its most important links are to North America

## During Washington's embargo, Ottawa has been making deals.

through Canada and Mexico. So great is the Canadians' business interest in the island that callers to Cuba's consulate in Toronto get to pick from eight phone options including "press four if you want to open a bank account or start a business in Cuba" and "press five if you want to get married in Cuba." The Cuba Tourist Board has erected more than 125 billboards in Toronto, and many more in Ottawa, Vancouver and other cities, promising cold-weary Canadians "a warmth you'll remember." A round-trip ticket from Ottawa to Varadero can cost as little as \$161.

Raymond Chrétien, Canada's Ambassador to the United States, acknowledges that

Ottawa's independent position bothers Washington. "We know who our friends are," Mr. Chrétien said just before last November's elections in the United States, "but we also want to be able to go to the beaches of Cuba." Last year, more than 150,000 Canadians vacationed in Cuba.

Still, Canada seems loath to push its Cuba policy too far, for fear of alienating Washington. Trade with Cuba is a nice plum, but it totals in a year what Canada exchanges with the United States in a day.

Cuba's abysmal record on human rights and the persistent poverty of most Cubans despite the island's recent embrace of capitalism also make it difficult for Ottawa to



Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy of Canada at Cuba's Varadero beach last month.

crow too much about its cozy relationship with Mr. Castro.

Take for example what happened during Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy's visit to Cuba last month. As Cuban officials were plying him and his entourage with cigars and showing off Varadero beach, they whisked him away on a surprise visit.

Mr. Axworthy was more than a little uncomfortable when he realized that the Cubans had taken him to a nearby oil drilling site that had been taken over by a Canadian company, Sherritt International. The company's president and several key officials have been banned from the United States for violating the Helms-Burton act. The tour abruptly ended when Mr. Axworthy hopped back on the overheated bus.

The Canadian bridge from Cuba to North America grates on Cuban-Americans. For three years the Alliance of Young Cubans, a political advocacy group in Miami, has put up billboards in Canada reminding Canadians that their tourist dollars help keep Mr. Castro in power. "Your paradise. Their hell," say the billboards, which show a tourist family enjoying Cuban beaches while a Cuban family watches from the shadows.

Of course, even though many Canadians enjoy the beaches while most Americans have to comply with the embargo, some Americans visit Cuba anyway. Canadian flags flew on many yachts docked at the Varadero marina during Mr. Axworthy's visit, but the stern of one flagless sloop said Golden, Colo., another Dover, Del.

That only points out the ultimate paradox in this complex triangle. A few years ago the Cuban Government made it legal for Cubans to hold American dollars. Since then, the Cuban peso is rarely seen in Old Havana. Nearly everything spent on hotels in Varadero and Havana, or Cokes at the Hotel Nacional, is in American dollars, although most of it has not been spent by Americans.

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ECONOMY

Like Oil and Water: A Tale of Two Economists

Same school, similar politics, but teachings are miles apart.

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — THEY have met only once since Paul Krugman returned last summer to the prestigious economics department at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It was a brief, accidental encounter among the file cabinets and secretaries' desks near Lester Thurow's office.

The small talk left so much unsaid. For the two men — from offices one floor apart that look out on the Charles River — are not so much colleagues as high-profile combatants in a struggle to explain the very nature of the national economy. With all the authority of their profession, they have gone public with strikingly different explanations of an economic phenomenon bedeviling not only the experts, but everyone else, too. Why have so many Americans fallen behind in the last two decades, while an affluent minority has so visibly prospered? Why has the resulting income gap become so glaring and persistent, even with six years of steady economic growth under our belts?

What Mr. Thurow and Mr. Krugman have done is translate into vivid metaphors, riffs of sarcasm and doomsday prose the dry, technical debate of their colleagues at a time when many Americans have taken sides, telling pollsters that they think competition from the rest of the world is the big cause of their income troubles. For Mr. Krugman, representing the majority of economists, that view is wrong. The big culprit, he argues, is new technology right here at home, requiring so many well-paid, college-trained workers, and so few of the less skilled. But for Mr. Thurow and other challengers of this view, the rapidly evolving global economy is indeed mostly to blame, with its hundreds of millions of low-wage workers sending what they produce to the United States and pulling down the pay of average Americans.

Mr. Krugman, 43, and Mr. Thurow, 58, are not alone in this debate, of course. Politicians, pundits, historians, sociologists and Wall Street analysts have jumped in. The debate pops up all the time, in articles and books and on talk shows. Policy prescriptions fill the air: regulate trade, restrict immigration, levy higher taxes on the rich to subsidize the poor and improve educational standards in an attempt — perhaps vain

— to make everyone highly skilled and well paid.

Pat Buchanan, who sought the Republican Presidential nomination last year, exploited the issue. Bob Dole tried to make wage troubles a campaign theme, and even President Clinton, while just issuing a report suggesting that the rising income gap may be reversing, has nonetheless singled out this inequality as the current economic problem. But Mr. Krugman, so often described as a shoo-in for a future Nobel Prize, and Mr. Thurow, who became an M.I.T. economics professor while Mr. Krugman was still a teen-ager in well-to-do Merrick, L.I., have emerged as the loudest and most articulate public voices of the profession that, above others, should have answers.

As they go at it, never face-to-face — always in writing and public speaking, sometimes from the well of the same M.I.T. lecture amphitheater, although on separate days — they offer very different versions of the economy, as if they were cardiologists differing over heart disease, with one citing stress as the primary cause and the other a fat-rich diet.

"The fact this debate exists means no one knows who is right," said Robert Helbroner, an economics historian who has written books with Mr. Thurow. "The economics profession seems to have a split personality, with the Lester Thurows trying to see a larger picture, and the Paul Krugmans in the business of trying to measure hard-and-fast cause and effect."

The jockeying for the upper hand in this debate sometimes becomes personal. While serving as the defender of the mainstream viewpoint among economists, Mr. Krugman cultivates a firebrand image. He refers to "startlingly crude and uninformed" views of those he criticizes, often by name — Robert B. Reich, the former Labor Secretary, is a favorite target — or to experts who "offer a logic no more confused than usual." He included Mr. Thurow in that last epithet. And so when Mr. Thurow was told last summer that Mr. Krugman was returning to M.I.T. after two years at Stanford University, he requested that Mr. Krugman refrain from disparaging his M.I.T. colleagues — a request that Mr. Krugman has honored so far. "He is too personal," Mr. Thurow said. "He makes it hard to have a debate."

Mr. Thurow, on the other hand, offers broad declarations that go far beyond the equations, diagrams and mathematical models that are, in Mr. Krugman's view, the essence of respectable economics. Mr. Thurow, for example, offers sweeping statements about the impact of the global economy on Americans. "Those with third-world skills will earn third-world wages," he declares, and "anything can be made anywhere on the face of the earth and sold everywhere else on the face of the earth."

For Mr. Krugman, who declined to be photographed with Mr. Thurow, such statements are more seat-of-the-pants judgments than testable economic logic. They are, he wrote recently, expressions in a war "between the essentially literary sensibility that we expect of a card-carrying intellectual and the scientific-mathematical outlook that is arguably the true glory of our civilization."

Such differences enliven the buzz among their colleagues at M.I.T. "Paul's style is still that of the enfant terrible, while Lester speaks more like someone on the mountain-top telling you how it is," said Richard L. Schmalensee, the deputy dean

of M.I.T.'s Sloan School of Management. Still, there is common ground. Both men see themselves as liberals, fighting not over ideology but over what constitutes good economics. They favor similar policies — strengthening unions to give labor more bargaining power, pushing education to improve Americans' workplace skills and income redistribution via Government policy to reduce inequality. They once even taught a basic economics course together at M.I.T., although they lectured on alternate days. (Mr. Thurow was more fun for the students, but Mr. Krugman covered the curriculum, Mr. Krugman said.)



Lester Thurow



Paul Krugman

Both acknowledge that they shifted their attention from academia to the public arena after being shut out of top spots as advisers in Democratic administrations — Mr. Thurow after Jimmy Carter was elected President and Mr. Krugman in the early Clinton days.

"My epiphany, came at that famous economic summit in Little Rock in 1992," Mr. Krugman said. "A lot of stuff said there was clearly silly. I had been aware that pop economics writers had a much bigger audience than good economists. But I did not take that seriously because I thought that anyone who really mattered would know the difference. That turned out not to be the case."

Mr. Thurow and Mr. Krugman also share an uncertainty, even a respect very much, called me and said I had written the most depressing book he had ever read," Mr. Thurow said. "I was surprised. I thought I had laid out solutions. But maybe they stick in my mind and not in the reader's."

The names appear alphabetically, in modest black letters, outside the suite where Mr. Krugman has his office, and he jokingly points out that his name is first, ahead of the Nobel Prize winners Paul Samuelson and Robert M. Solow, two giants of American economics who happen to be Mr. Krugman's suite mates. "I ought to take a picture of that while it lasts," he said. He need not rush. His imprint on mainstream economics is already well embedded.

Mr. Krugman, the only child of an insurance company manager, achieved luminary status in less than a decade as an economist. Finishing at Yale in 1974 and receiving his Ph.D. from M.I.T. in 1977, he soon plunged into teaching and research, producing path-breaking findings on the interplay of Government and industry in trade. Although he worries about Government interference in markets, he nevertheless has demonstrated with mathematical precision how an assist from Government can give an industry a competitive advantage in, say, manufacturing and exporting commercial jets or computer chips.

With his reputation as an expert economist firmly in place by the early 80's (he won the John Bates Clark Medal in 1991 as the nation's most outstanding academic economist under 40), Mr. Krugman cut back on original research and turned his attention to a wider public, displaying a rare knack for explaining the discipline and logic of economics if not to every subway straphanger, at least to the educated layman.

"There is no question that the polemics cut into the research," Mr. Krugman said. "I like to think that like Keynes" — John Maynard Keynes, the legendary British economist who juggled scholarship, essay writing and public service — "I can step back and do deep thinking again, but who knows. It is one of the things I wake up and worry about."

Mr. Thurow, 15 years older than Mr. Krugman, actually blazed this trail from academia to a wider audience. The eldest of three sons of a Methodist preacher in Montana, he went east to Williams College and won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford. He earned a Ph.D. at Harvard in 1964 and four years later, at 30, found himself at M.I.T., holding professorships in both the economics department and the Sloan School of Management, where he later became dean. Pioneering work on income distribution helped get him to the top. But he, too, shifted to capturing public attention after being shut out of government. He had helped in the Carter election campaign but, like Mr. Krugman 16 years later, lost out for a top advisory position in the new Democratic Administration.

"I decided that if I could not have the king's ear, I would talk to the public," Mr. Thurow said. "That's the other way to have an impact on the economic system." And he certainly has talked to the public, in best-selling books, magazine articles, television appearances and on the lecture circuit — at \$30,000 a speech, he says, nearly double Mr. Krugman's speaking fees.

But for all their similarities, and their common home base, the chasm separating their economic theories seems unbridgeable. Mr. Thurow applauded — and still likes — Mr. Krugman's early research suggesting that the Government can help create an export advantage for industry. That fits Mr. Thurow's preference for a market system leavened by Government. But Mr. Krugman objects that his research is all-too-often loosely invoked as justification for an intrusive industrial policy by people "who don't understand its limits."

Mr. Thurow says that when the Mexicans or Chinese export shirts or tires to the United States, for example, less-skilled American workers are edged out or forced into lower-paying service jobs. Mr. Krugman responds that imports from low-wage countries represent only 2 percent of the national income, not enough to have much of an impact on American labor. In fact, he says, trade in its entirety is too small a percentage of the gross domestic product to greatly influence wages.

Trade is a cause of income inequality, Mr. Krugman acknowledges, but he says other factors are more important — primarily the onslaught of new technology. Because of that, the demand for highly skilled people — from computer programmers to top executives — has soared, and their wages have gone up relative to the less skilled.

The Thurows of the world misunderstand another dynamic, he adds. As the Mexicans and Chinese shift into shirts and tires, American industry produces jet aircraft, cellular phones and other high-technology products to pay for the imports. "We raise the wage of skilled people who produce planes," Mr. Krugman said, "and lower the wage of those who are unskilled."

But, he said, the unskilled will probably not suffer over the long run. Incomes will rise in Mexico and China, Mr. Krugman said, as workers there become more productive. That was Japan's experience after World War II, and South Korea's more recently. The global pie, in effect, becomes bigger.

"If you can shift machinery from the United States to Mexico, why should you think that would level American wages down rather than Mexican wages up?" Mr. Krugman asked. "If a Mexican worker's output goes from one widget to 10 wid-

gets a day, his wage rises to that level. If you strip the story down, this is the only explanation that makes sense."

Mr. Thurow offers an entirely different tale. With capital so mobile and transportation and communications improving constantly, companies can place their operations almost anywhere, he says. Even their high-technology operations are vulnerable as educated Russians and Eastern Europeans, for example, bid for work. Adding salt to this sore, low-wage countries focus their exports more than ever on the United States. In addition, the influx of immigrants is very similar to shifting production abroad, bringing the low-wage labor here instead of sending the work there. As a result, wages are driven down in areas like Southern California or Texas or Florida where there are many immigrants. And everywhere in the country, there is downward wage pressure simply from the threat of American companies' relocating or producing abroad.

"Russia has 800,000 scientists and engineers," Mr. Thurow declared in an M.I.T. lecture last month. "Why pay an American physicist \$75,000 a year when you can get a Russian for \$100 a month?" Moments later he invoked the image of a dress manufacturer with 18 factories around the world, linked by "high-definition television to control quality." This manufacturer, Mr. Thurow said, "tells customers: 'Don't worry whether the dress is made in Bangladesh or New York. It's the same item, same quality, same delivery time.'"

Still, Mr. Thurow would not intervene in the global economy by restricting trade or impeding the flows of people and investment across borders. Nor would Mr. Krugman. They are both free traders. The best solution, they also agree, is more economic growth both here and abroad. But they are worlds apart on how to achieve that growth, or whether it is even possible.

The divide is over productivity, or output per worker, which has not been rising all that much lately in the United States and the rest of the industrial world. Ultimately, the only way to generate more growth, or national income, is to put more people to work or to find some way for each worker to produce more each hour.

Mr. Thurow would try to lift productivity in stages. He would start by stimulating the economy, perhaps through Government spending or lower interest rates, a Keynesian approach that is now considered by mainstream economists as more likely to produce inflation than real growth. For Mr. Thurow, however, the stimulus would open up opportunity, and the opportunity would pull up productivity.

A machine shop, for example, might open to serve a growing demand for auto parts. A waiter in a nearby diner, seizing an opportunity, takes a job as a grinder. Grinding auto parts produces more income than the same time spent waiting on tables. So the worker's output, measured in cash, rises. The diner raises its output per worker, too, by putting in a buffet. The customers, in effect, serve themselves, a form of automation.

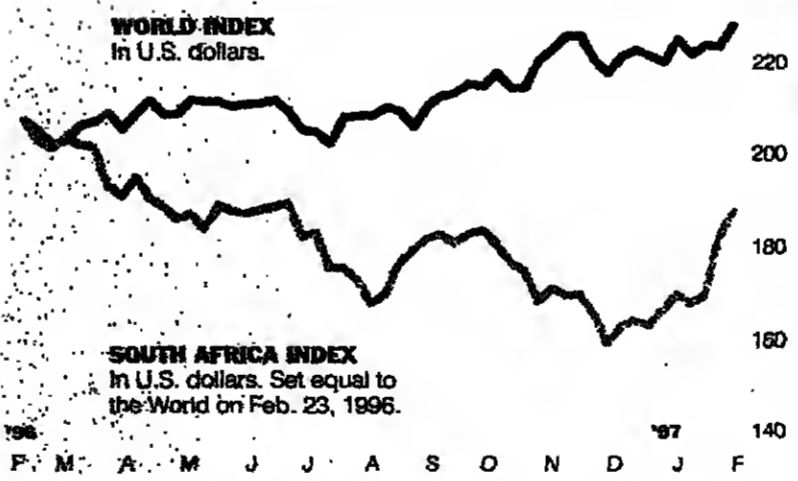
"Productivity comes out of an economy that is pushed," Mr. Thurow said. "It is the result of what people do in response to the opportunities that growth makes possible, not the cause of growth."

Mr. Krugman calls this "wishful thinking." He, and most mainstream economists, say they do not know why the annual rise in productivity, or potential output, has slowed so much since the early 1970's. Nor do they claim to know how to reverse this poor performance. The math and the evidence, Mr. Krugman says, are inexorable. Whenever America's economic growth rate goes much above 2 percent — its long-term ceiling — the unemployment rate invariably falls. Workers are added to increase output, until the unemployment rate gets too low and the labor supply is exhausted — simply bidding up wages without substantially increasing the nation's potential growth rate.

"All this seems pretty ironclad," Mr. Krugman writes in an article recently submitted to the Harvard Business Review.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Table with columns: Country, Index, Week % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., YTD Dividend Yield, Index, YTD % Chg. Lists various countries like Australia, Austria, Belgium, etc.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Acquisitions World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by the Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1997 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

Table with columns: Exchange rates, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago. Lists rates for Japanese yen, German marks, Canadian dollars, etc.

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

UPS AND DOWNS

Feb. 10-14: Dow Breaks Through 7,000; Bond Market Rallies, Too

Table with columns: Domestic Equities, Broad market S & P 500 index, Blue chips Dow 50 Industrials, Small capitalization Russell 2000 index. Shows upward trends.

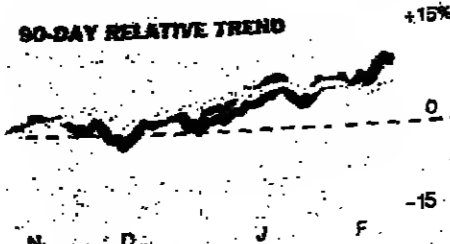


Table with columns: Domestic Bonds, Treasuries, Municipals, Corporates. Shows upward trends.

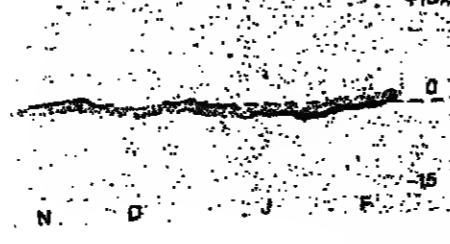


Table with columns: Around the World, European stocks, Asian stocks, Gold. Shows upward trends.

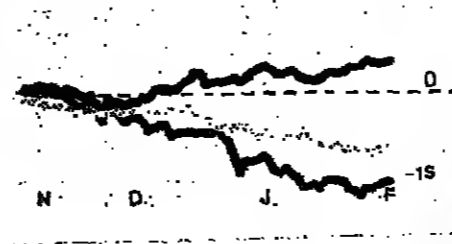


Table with columns: Yields, Long bonds, 30-year Treasuries, Notes, 2-year Treasuries, Municipals, Bond Buyer index. Shows various yield trends.

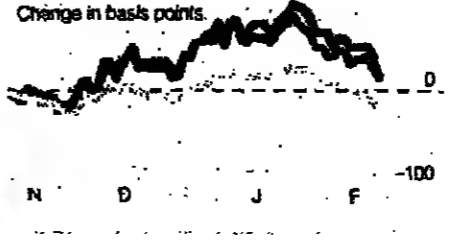
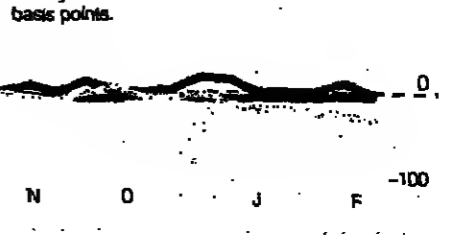


Table with columns: Other Investments, Money market funds, Bank C.D.'s, 1-year small savers, Stocks, S & P 500 dividend yield. Shows various investment trends.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor, Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs, IBC's Money Fund Report, Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Latta

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## Reform in the Balance

Most officeholders in Washington still don't get it, but the American electoral system is in ethical and financial crisis. When it comes to President Clinton's fund-raising, the chips of news have now arranged themselves into a mosaic of scandal. Few reasonable Democrats any longer question the wrongness of their party's behavior in the last election. The remaining suspense is over how prosecutable it is.

On Capitol Hill, the plans for Congressional investigations and hearings on campaign abuses are mired in petty infighting, much of it among Republicans who seem bent on piddling away their party's historic opportunity to own the reform issue.

With a few notable exceptions, Republicans and Democrats alike share the blame for pawing at campaign reform legislation rather than pushing it. They believe the lack of protest over attempts to preserve the old system means the public does not care. We believe it means the public is rapidly giving up on the ability of this Congress and this President to create a new system of political finance.

**The White House.** The revelations about possible Chinese involvement in the President's re-election campaign are so serious that Mr. Clinton himself admitted on Thursday that "we have to let the investigations proceed." It would be even more helpful if he would wake and shake his lethargic Attorney General, Janet Reno, to the overdue need for a special prosecutor.

Already, several dozen Federal Bureau of Investigation agents are poring over a dizzying list of suspicious transactions. First there were the inordinate contributions and White House visits from present and former officials with the Lippo Group of Indonesia. Most recently, The Washington Post disclosed an F.B.I. investigation into whether Chinese Government officials or their agents may have used go-between contributors to put money into Mr. Clinton's campaign. There have also been reports that both the President and Harold Ickes, the former White House deputy chief of staff, may have been involved in directing tax-exempt contributions toward nonprofit groups they knew would be helpful to their campaign.

Despite these distractions, Mr. Clinton has shown some energy on the legislative front. He brought a bipartisan group of legislators to the White House to push the McCain-Feingold bill and its companion legislation in the House. Aides to Mr. Clinton say he will urge Democratic and G.O.P. leaders to put this legislation on a fast track. We hope he does, but any such action would gain credibility if Mr. Clinton would also order full cooperation with all investigations by the Congress and urge Ms. Reno to appoint a special prosecutor.

**Senator Trent Lott.** In the history of campaign-reform legislation, few leaders have been dealt a hand like the one held by Mr. Lott. The Senate majority leader owes no real debt to the old system of money-for-influence, and with the decline of Speaker Newt Gingrich, he has a chance to take his party in a new direction. Yet last week it seemed mystifyingly clear that Mr. Lott sees himself as a guardian of special-interest politics. Is it because he somehow views it as "conservative," since business has long used it to fund friendly Republicans? Or is it because Mr. Lott, for all his famed discipline, has come to his great job as free of vision as he is of obligations?

Mr. Lott needs only to look at recent history to see the mistakes made by others who thought their

interests lay in protecting Congress's system of financing undistinguished incumbents. In 1993, both the House Speaker, Thomas Foley, and the Senate majority leader, George Mitchell, prevailed on Mr. Clinton to defer campaign finance reform, ostensibly because of the need to pass budget and health care legislation. Perhaps Mr. Lott should ask Mr. Foley how he is enjoying retirement and Mr. Mitchell about whether he liked leaving the Senate in Republican hands.

The urgent need is to pass legislation to ban soft-money contributions to the parties. There is a need also to provide free or low-cost television to curb campaign costs. Any new law must close loopholes that have let labor unions and businesses help candidates by disguising campaign ads as "issue advocacy."

Campaign reform is supported by two strong, but lonely voices for change, Republican Senators John McCain of Arizona and Fred Thompson of Tennessee. But instead of rallying to these two, Mr. Lott seems to be listening instead to the irredeemably misguided Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky. Mr. McConnell speaks to the cynical impulses of party leaders who worry that they need the hundreds of millions of dollars in soft money to keep their campaigns going. Mr. Lott's supposed to be the ultimate pragmatist. Surely he can see that slowing down Mr. McCain's legislation and dampering support for Mr. Thompson's hearings on campaign finance will dim his future as Senate leader.

**The Hearings.** Senator Thompson has one of the toughest jobs in Congress this year, and he has sent mixed signals about whether he is up to it. Most of his fellow Republicans clearly want the hearings of his Governmental Affairs Committee to target President Clinton and the Democrats. The Senate Democratic leader, Tom Daschle, is rightly concerned that Mr. Thompson not conduct the hearings in a partisan manner. The fact that almost all the early subpoenas for information have gone to Democratic fund-raising people has not inspired confidence that Mr. Thompson will be fair.

There were some reports last week that Mr. Daschle and the Democrats were trying to limit the hearings to the Presidential campaigns as a way of keeping the heat off their own Congressional fund-raising activities. That would be a mistake. Mr. Daschle should work with Mr. Thompson to make sure that the hearings are given the broadest scope to look at both parties. The Democratic abuses have gotten most of the bad publicity, but the committee must also look into the meeting-for-dollars arrangements organized by the Republicans and the apparent quid pro quos that have resulted in efforts to ease regulations on developers, miners, the tobacco industry and other groups that bankrolled the Republicans.

Mr. Thompson has asked for \$6.5 million to conduct the hearings, many times more than was budgeted for Whitewater, but the Democrats are wrong to balk. This is a matter of greater scale. Provided Mr. Thompson is equally curious about both parties, he should get the time and money to do the job.

The hearings are essential. The public needs full information on the abuses, or the Congressional stallers will prevail. The fund-raising scandals of the last few years pose the gravest threat to the country's political system since the Watergate scandals of a generation ago. It is clearly possible that Mr. Clinton, people close to him and many members of Congress on both sides of the aisle stand in political or legal jeopardy if real reform comes to the capital. But the American people want a cleanup. It is time to get on with it.

## Micro-Loans for the Very Poor

Anyone who scoffs at the value of 62 cents should talk to Muhammad Yunus. In 1976, the Bangladeshi economics professor tried an experiment. From his pocket, he lent the equivalent of \$26 to a group of 42 workers. With that 62 cents per person, they bought the materials for a day's work weaving chairs or making pots. At the end of their first day as independent business owners, they sold their work and soon paid back the loan.

Thus began the microcredit movement, which has become the world's hot idea for reducing poverty. This month, microcredit's backers met in Washington to begin to broaden the program's reach and raise money from developed nations and institutions such as the World Bank. Eight million people are now getting microcredit, half of them in Bangladesh. Microcredit proponents want to expand that to 100 million people by 2005. It is a worthy goal that the United States should support.

The first microcredit program was the Grameen Bank, founded by Mr. Yunus. Now almost all its borrowers are women, who tend to be poorer than men, have fewer opportunities and are much more likely to spend new earnings on their children. Grameen requires its borrowers to organize themselves into groups of five. All are cut off if one borrower defaults.

They meet every week to make loan payments at commercial interest rates and critique one another's business plans. They also pledge to boil their water, keep their families small and carry out other good health practices. People who repay small loans on time can take bigger ones. Grameen, which now

than traditional banks. One-third of its two million borrowers have crossed the poverty line and another third are close.

Microcredit is now at work in 43 different countries. A version has even reached 150,000 Americans in inner-cities like Chicago and Washington. Borrowers here can begin with a \$500 or \$1,000 loan, enough for gardening or hair-styling tools. President Clinton said he will ask Congress for \$1 billion more over the next five years to develop microenterprise in the United States.

A no-handout, inexpensive program that builds business sounds so politically appealing in today's climate that it is worth recalling microcredit's limits. It cannot take the place of clean water, family planning efforts and child immunization programs. It can do little for the most desperate, those too sick or unskilled to work. It is also not free, as some of its political backers suggest. The most successful microcredit programs can fund their loans through interest and the savings they encourage borrowers to build. But most projects still rely on donations, and all are most helpful when they are backed by technical and marketing assistance programs, which cost money.

Still, microcredit has brought a much-needed revolution in anti-poverty programs. It deserves more than its current 2 percent share of the world's \$60 billion development budget. Microcredit goes directly to poor people. It creates jobs in villages. It helps women develop confidence and independence. Microcredit can win new political backing for anti-poverty programs abroad that the poor still desperately need.

## Managed Care's Flaws Can't Be Legislated Away

**To the Editor:**  
Your Feb. 9 editorial on managed care suggests that regulation of managed care companies will rein in the bad apples that put profits over patients, and thus allow this industry to better pursue its goals of containing costs and improving the quality of health care. But it is not just a matter of a few greedy companies in a system that is basically sound. Rather, the system is inherently corrupt.

Managed care companies survive in a competitive environment by cutting costs, and this means restricting care. Their claims that they insure quality or efficiency of care are only public-relations catch phrases.

"Quality" and "efficiency" become pretexts for depriving patients of needed care and of an active role in deciding on their treatment. Even a well-intentioned company cannot survive unless it matches competitors in cutting costs, and care, to the bone.  
JAY B. FRANKEL  
New York, Feb. 10, 1997.

and chronically ill groups. Since these groups consume much higher amounts of health care resources, there will be conflicts between their needs and the profit needs of managed care companies.

There are emerging models of reimbursement and delivery systems for these groups, like "carve out" programs that remove high-risk groups from managed care and "special-needs health maintenance organizations" that try to reimburse providers at higher rates to care for patients who may need a lifetime of continuous care. But such programs are not fully developed and not operational on a large scale in New York, and their outcomes are untested.  
BARRY D. ROCK  
Rockville Centre, L.I., Feb. 9, 1997  
The writer is a social worker.

## In Diaper Wars, Disposables Must Lose

**To the Editor:**  
"In the Diaper Wars, Cloth Has Just About Folded" (Week in Review, Feb. 9) accurately describes the successful approach disposable-diaper manufacturers have used to convince consumers that their products are environmentally benign. But you overlook two issues.

The diaper battle is almost always described as being between disposable diapers and diaper services entailing the environmental costs of pickup and delivery, not just washing. But you don't need a diaper service for cloth diapers. You can wash them at home. Then you incur no greater environmental costs than you do when washing other clothes.

If you ask parents why they prefer disposables, you'll almost always hear that "you don't have to empty them out before throwing them away." This means disposables lead to the introduction of quantities of human feces into the solid waste stream, which poses a significant threat to public health and especially to sanitation workers. Human waste belongs in the sanitary sewer system, not garbage cans, garbage trucks and landfills.  
JAMES LILLENWALL  
Santa Fe, N.M., Feb. 11, 1997  
The writer was recycling manager for Berkeley, Calif., 1991-94.

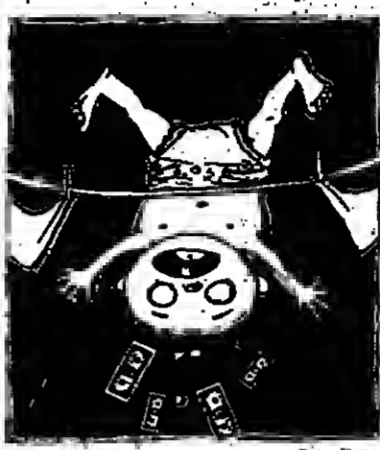


Photo by Peter Kuper

**To the Editor:**  
Contrary to "In the Diaper Wars, Cloth Has Just About Folded" (Week in Review, Feb. 9), diaper services do not cost "about the same as disposables."

The truth is that diaper for diaper they cost about the same. But because cloth diapers must be changed twice as often, disposable diapers end up taking half the bite out of one's pocketbook.  
AMY LYONS  
New Providence, N.J., Feb. 9, 1997

**To the Editor:**  
Your Feb. 9 editorial on regulating managed care says that a model bill's provision to guarantee access to all drugs approved by the Food and Drug Administration as deemed necessary by a physician "may impinge too heavily on a plan's ability to control costs without producing better clinical results." But when doctors are restricted from prescribing what they think is the most effective medication, health care costs more.

A study by Susan D. Horn of 13,000 health maintenance organization patients showed that limitation of drug availability was significantly related to higher rates of emergency room and hospital visits and to increased drug costs and doctor visits.

Newer drugs are approved because they are proved safe and effective, and are therefore likely to produce better results. The new drug may cost more but may obviate the need for even more expensive services.  
MILTON LIEBMAN  
New York, Feb. 10, 1997  
The writer is a medical communications consultant.

**To the Editor:**  
"Consumers and Managed Care" (editorial, Feb. 9) pinpoints the adversarial relationship between health maintenance organizations and consumers. But there is another path to consider: the consumer as producer of health care.

There are many illustrations, from diabetics' monitoring their blood sugar to support groups for discharged psychiatric patients. Research has shown that this approach is effective, and cost-effective. The individual is involved in the actual production of a health care service. Not only does this empower the consumer and increase the productivity of the health care system, but it also may heighten the trust of both parties.  
FRANK RIESSMAN  
AUDREY GARTNER  
New York, Feb. 10, 1997  
The writers are, respectively, director and executive director of the National Self-Help Clearinghouse.

## Confrontation Won't Help China's Christians

**To the Editor:**  
A. M. Rosenthal's Feb. 11 column requires a more balanced picture of Christianity in China. The Protestant church in China may be the fastest growing in the world. Since 1979 churches are opening or re-opening at a rate of three every two days. Even so, Roman Catholics and Protestants are less than 1 percent of China's population. The China Christian Council and Protestant Three-Self Patriotic Movement do not deny that they spend a good deal of time on grievances of Protestant communities about abuses of religious free-

dom. But many church leaders have worked to improve the situation through cooperation, not confrontation.  
DIANE J. ALLEN  
New York, Feb. 12, 1997  
The writer is China program associate, General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church.

**To the Editor:**  
A. M. Rosenthal (column, Feb. 11), upset by China's apparently anti-Christian actions, hopes that "Israel shows the U.S. the path to righteousness by ending arms trade with China." Is that the harshest thing to be said of Israel? Israel at its center discriminates against Christians and other gentiles. Non-Israeli Jews can settle on land taken from expelled indigenous Palestinians. And Israel is not renewing the residency status of Palestinians — both Muslim and Christian — in Jerusalem who have other citizenship. This is de facto ethnic cleansing.  
SAM HUSSEINI  
Washington, Feb. 11, 1997  
The writer is media director, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

## The 'World of Made'

**To the Editor:**  
If the smug tone of your Feb. 11 front-page article on French malaise is an indication, Americans are ahead of the French in the chauvinism department, too. Beware the assumption that America is not to be questioned as it leads humanity into economic and cultural "globalization."

Maybe it isn't so crazy that those French have doubts about the corporate greed that is atomizing family and the social contract and covering the "world of born" with a smothering "world of made," as our own skeptic E. E. Cummings foresaw.

Imagine: Some of the French have the audacity to question market-materialism as the only god. Why they're as bad as the Islamic fundamentalists!  
LANCE TAPLEY  
Augusta, Me., Feb. 13, 1997

**To the Editor:**  
Your Feb. 9 news article on controlling the costs of Medicare home health care omits one reason for its increased use. In most states there is no alternative for the disabled and elderly who are desperate for help with basic functions like dressing and bathing. Most people don't need a course for this, yet Medicare provides one at a huge cost.

Aides like those in New York's Medicaid "personal care" program can do the job at less than half the cost. To cut costs, Medicare must offer a "personal care" alternative and reserve the costly home health benefit for those needing skilled nursing services.  
VALERIE J. BOGART  
New York, Feb. 10, 1997  
The writer is a staff attorney for Legal Services for the Elderly.

## Blame Judges, Not Voters, for California's Declining Schools

**To the Editor:**  
Brent Staples decries the fiscal condition of public education in California (Editorial Notebook, Feb. 10). I would not dispute this, but he is wrong to blame Proposition 13, which capped property tax rates at 1 percent of value and rolled back assessments. This 1978 voter initiative did not restrict California's ability to substitute state taxes for local taxes in paying for education.

The real sources of the problem were the "share the wealth" decisions by California's Supreme Court. Serrano v. Priest (1971 and 1978) said that school spending could not vary among districts on the basis of taxable property wealth. For most high-spending districts, this meant that a vote to increase spending from local sources was unconstitutional. The voters obliged the court two years later by rolling back local property taxes and effectively sending the obligation for schools to the Legislature.

What is sad about California's plight is not just the poor education offered one-eighth of the nation's public school students. It's that Serrano v. Priest continues to be emulated by

state courts. The resulting reforms have invariably led to a loss of local fiscal control over education. Let's stop impugning Californians as shortsighted hedonists and look at the more likely cause of their problems: judges who think they know better than voters.  
WILLIAM A. FISCHER  
Hanover, N.H., Feb. 11, 1997  
The writer is an economics professor at Dartmouth College.

**To the Editor:**  
As a California teacher, I agree that the California tax revolt gutted school financing (Editorial Notebook, Feb. 10). And yes, many "touchy feely" trends have had a negative impact on our schools. But Karen Sorlie Russo (letter, Feb. 12) is wrong. Conscientious teachers do not work short

hours, and tenure does not mean a lifetime job, only due process in dismissal. We don't get paid for the summer, when many take on work to make ends meet.

So where do we go from here? Give teachers constructive criticism, not just blastings. And stick around long enough to be part of the solution as we work to improve our schools.  
LARRY WIENER  
Alhambra, Calif., Feb. 12, 1997

**To the Editor:**  
The Feb. 12 letters responding to Brent Staples' Editorial Notebook (Feb. 10) seek to blame the collapse of California's schools not on the "tax revolt" and lack of money, but on teachers and teaching methods. How do they account for the similar declines of what was the finest system of public higher education in the world?

The system was designed to provide a place in college for every California high school graduate. Did the professors suddenly become corrupt and lazy under this regime? I saw no evidence of that.

Friends in the system in the 1970's and early 1980's paid a few hundred dollars a year. In 1992 my son qualified for the University of California at Berkeley, but it was more economical to attend the most expensive private college in the nation (with financial aid) than Berkeley, where tuition was thousands per semester and he didn't qualify for aid. Now tell me again that funding cuts were not a big part of the problem.  
LINDA M. MALONEY  
St. Cloud, Minn., Feb. 12, 1997

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pe's Wild Ride

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Europe's Wild Ride

ROME If you thought 1989 was an exciting year in Europe, with the Berlin wall crashing down and Communism being swept aside, then you won't want to miss 1997. Because the two major balancing institutions in Europe, NATO and the European Union, are both going to be "adjusted" in 1997, and it's going to make for a wild and crazy Eurocoaster. The Clinton Administration isn't worried. It's assuming that these two major balances in Europe can be simultaneously "adjusted" and create a new, even more stable equilibrium.

Just when some introspection is in order.

Don't bet on it. Here's why: By the end of this year E.U. members are supposed to commit to a common currency, the Euro, that will make their integration much deeper. But this deal isn't cooked. The problem is the Germans are not keen about letting southern Europe — Italy, Spain, Portugal — into the common currency right away because the Germans, who are obsessed with having a hard, stable currency, don't trust southern Europeans to hold the fiscal and monetary controls needed to maintain a strong Euro.

For Germany, southern Europe is still a region inhabited by Bedouins. You trade with Bedouins. But you don't share a currency with them. Italians were stunned when Germany's Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung newspaper wrote last month that Italians don't understand the importance financial markets attach to rules: "Those who respect rules are often considered stupid in Italy. Why should they go by the rules when the sly push ahead in line, throw rubbish on the street and pass cars on the highway on the right?"

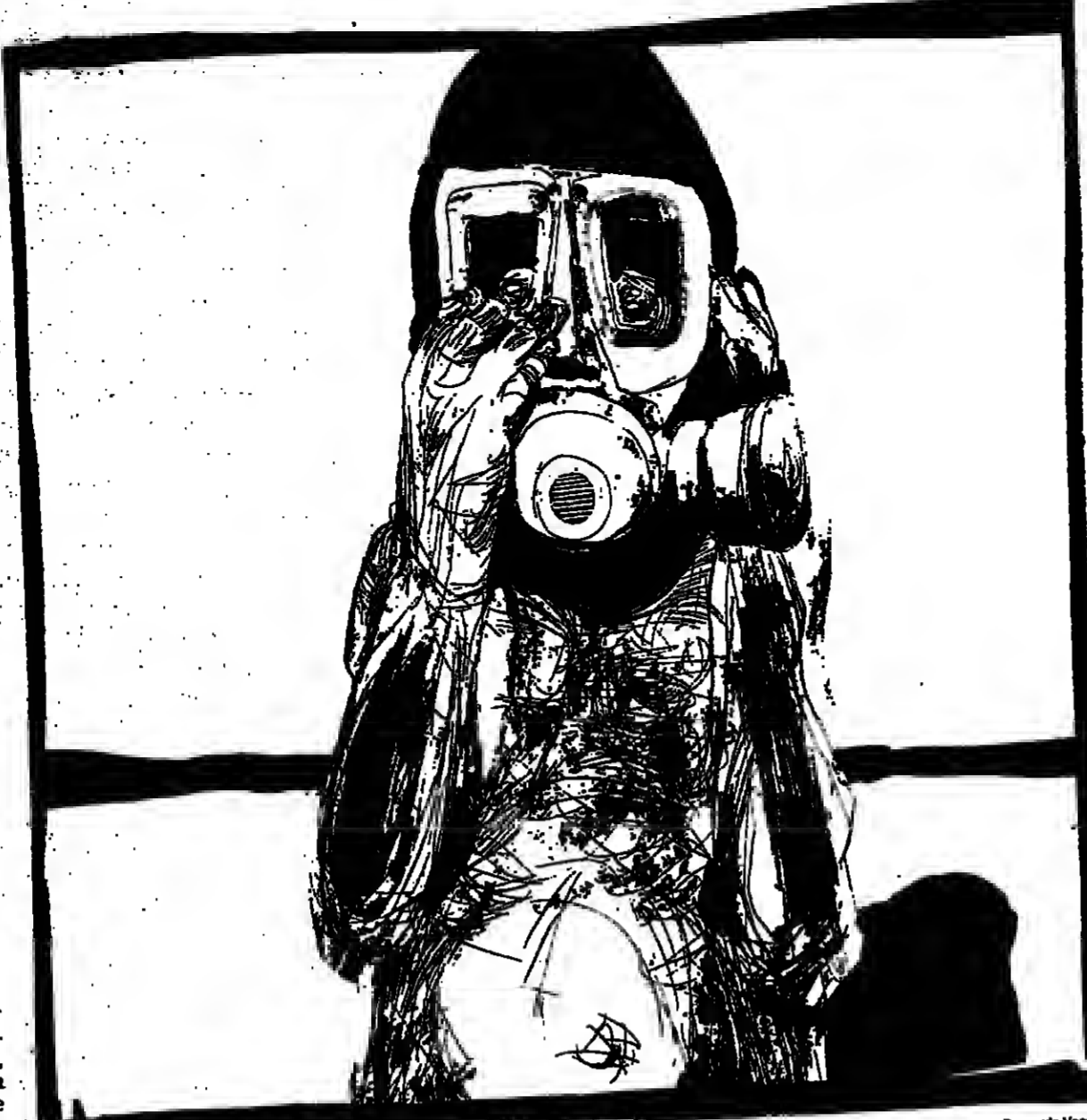
Sounds like a great partnership. This struggle over a common Euro currency coincides with the effort to expand NATO to Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic. U.S. diplomats are confident they can move NATO's frontier closer to Russia, while assuring Russia that it isn't being threatened or frozen out of the new Europe. The U.S. will do this by forging a NATO-Russia charter that perfectly balances everyone's interests. Unfortunately, this delicate new balance will have to be negotiated while there is a near total power vacuum at the top in Russia. Good luck. This project also assumes that the countries left out of the new NATO — Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine and the Baltic states — will sit quietly, and not become a gray area of intense competition between Russia and NATO. Sure.

Here's the truth: Yugoslavia aside, Europe has actually been quite stable since 1989. We don't need all this heroic geo-engineering of organizations now.

The only way there will be an even more stable, long-term, security structure in Europe is if democratic reform in Russia moves forward, not if NATO's front line moves forward. And the only way the E.U. will thrive in the global economy is not if its members have a common currency, but if they deregulate their economies and become more competitive and entrepreneurial. It is much more important that French storekeepers open on Sunday than that they have a common Euro currency. It is much more important that a young Helmut Gates in a garage in Germany be able to raise \$50 million overnight for his invention rather than that the pittance he can now raise is denominated in a common Euro currency. Europe's priority now should be internal reform, not organizational reform.

If the leaders don't know this, the people do. Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, a professor at the Free University in Rome and former Italian Ambassador to Germany, remarked to me: "You can't build a new Europe without Europeans, and my students are very much less European than they were 10 years ago. Before 1989, E.U. and NATO meant security. They meant modernization. They meant welfare. Now, the fear is gone; the threats are all internal. But we are being asked to put on a new European straitjacket, just when we feel less European."

I hope it all works out: a new NATO, a new E.U., a new currency, all in 1997. But I fear this will involve too many moving parts. I suspect we'll wish we had let well enough alone. There is a real danger that we could not only lose the balance that came together in Europe in 1989-91 — a balance that has been relatively easy to maintain and has provided a stable environment for internal reform — but we could also lose the energy and focus to deal with the real problems, which are mostly inside these states, not between them.



Riccardo Vecchio

Our Best Defense

By James A. Baker 3d

HOUSTON The Chemical Weapons Convention — an international treaty that commits member nations to destroy their chemical weapons and to forswear future production, acquisition or use of them — is before the Senate for approval. Despite the fact that the treaty was negotiated under Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush, a number of Republicans have expressed reservations about it. I respect their motives, but their concerns are misplaced.

For instance, some have argued that we shouldn't commit to the treaty because rogue states like Libya, Iraq and North Korea, which have not signed it, will still be able to continue their efforts to acquire

Republican criticism of the chemical weapons treaty is off base.

chemical weapons. This is obviously true. But the convention, which has been endorsed by 68 countries and will go into effect in April whether or not we have ratified it, will make it more difficult for these states to do so by prohibiting the sale of materials to nonmembers that can be used to make chemical weapons.

In an ideal world, rogue states and terrorist groups would simply give up the use of chemical weapons. But ours is not an ideal world. The Chemical Weapons Convention recognizes that, and so should its opponents. It makes no sense to argue that because a few pariah states refuse to join the convention the United States should line up with them rather than with the rest of the world.

Others have argued that if we ratify the treaty, we will not be able to verify that all members will abide by it. No international agreement, of course, is perfectly verifiable — just as no domestic law is perfectly enforceable. But the treaty sets up a verification system, including international inspections on short notice, that will be far more effective than what we possess today. Moreover, the treaty would strengthen information-sharing among member states. It would increase, not diminish, our understanding of chemical weapons threats.

Some opponents of the treaty claim that it would create yet another costly international bureaucracy and place an onerous regulatory burden on American business. Both assertions are overstated. Our share for administering the treaty would be about \$25 million a year, a truly modest amount in a Federal budget of about \$1.7 trillion. Only about 140 companies would have significant reporting requirements, while some 2,000 others would be asked to fill out a short form.

Moreover, failure to ratify the treaty would actually cost the American chemical industry hundreds of millions of dollars in sales by making United States exporters subject to trade restrictions by convention members. Our joining the convention could help American business — which is why the chemical industry supports ratification.

Other critics assert that the treaty would somehow infringe on our national sovereignty — in particular, the Fourth Amendment ban on unreasonable search and seizure. In fact, it explicitly permits members to abide by their constitutional requirements when providing access to international inspectors. Under the treaty, involuntary inspection of American manufacturing and storage sites would still require legally acquired search warrants. The idea that ratifying the treaty would repeal part of our Bill of Rights is simply wrong.

But by far the most important argument against the treaty is that ratification would somehow undermine our national security. Nothing could be further from the truth. Let me be blunt: The idea that Ronald Reagan and George Bush would negotiate a treaty detrimental to this nation's security is grotesque. The United States does not need chemical weapons as a deterrent. Any nation or group contemplating a chemical attack against us must reckon with our overwhelming conventional force and vast nuclear arsenal. Each is more than sufficient to deter a chemical attack.

Chemical weapons are relatively easy to develop and cheap to manufacture, so it is no coincidence that the rogue nations now seeking to build chemical arsenals are economically impoverished and technologically backward. Unlike Iraq or Libya, we don't need such weapons to project our influence. In fact, we are already committed — under a law signed in 1985 by President Reagan — to destroy our existing chemical weapons stockpile by 2004. We will do this whether or not we ratify the treaty.

What we need is a way to limit the risk that American troops or civilians may someday face a chemical weapons attack. The convention can help do precisely this by controlling the flow of illicit trade materials and by making it easier to marshal international support for the political, diplomatic and economic isolation of countries that refuse to ratify it.

If we fail to ratify the convention, we will not only forgo any influence in the continuing effort against chemical weapons, we will also risk postponing indefinitely any progress on an international ban on the equally dire threat of biological weapons. More generally, we will imperil our leadership in the entire area of non-

proliferation, perhaps the most vital security issue of the post-cold-war era.

Today we face a monumental choice requiring a bipartisan consensus, just as we did in ratifying the North American Free Trade Act in 1993. Failure to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention would send a message of American retreat from engagement in the world. For this reason — and because our national interest is better served by joining the convention than by lining up with pariah states outside it — I support the treaty and urge my fellow Republicans to do the same.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Women's Work

WASHINGTON

The two great women of Georgetown lived through history that others could only read about. They were raised to be the opposite of what they became. For years, they were happily in the shadow of famous men. Then, widowed, both struggled to remake themselves as serious players in arenas where women were rare. Pamela Digby Churchill Hayward Harriman and Katharine Graham have been dominating attention in the capital.

Mourners called Mrs. Harriman's elaborate funeral at the National Cathedral on Thursday "her last cocktail party," perfectly calculated and coolly orchestrated for the cameras, a three-layer cake, where the elite of the elite jockeyed for good seats. Mrs. Graham has been celebrated in a happier way, with raves and fetes for her memoir, in which she describes the awful story of losing her husband twice, first to a mistress and then to suicide, and the bracing story of how she transformed herself from a doorman into a publisher whose brave decisions on the Pentagon Papers and Watergate changed the character of American journalism.

Superficially, the lives of these women, who were friendly but not intimate, followed similar arcs. But Pamela and Kay were as different as Scarlett and Melanie, one full of guile, the other gulleible, one self-centered and showy, the other shy and modest, one promoting herself as a great sex symbol, the other painfully insecure.

Mrs. Graham was born to the arena, while Mrs. Harriman was always struggling to get into it. While Kay was still an ungainly, unsophisticated housewife, Pamela was already the original Cosmo Girl, tailoring herself to trap dukes, princes and millionaires, changing religions like clothes to suit the hunt, treating wives as minor obstacles. She was praised by one lover, Elie de Rothschild, as his "European geisha," and by one husband, Leland Hayward, as "the greatest courtesan of the century." Mrs. Harriman's life was like a series of glamorous stage sets. She would build each one meticulously, then strike it after it had had its use. In her final role she did gain some respect as Ambassador to France. Mrs. Graham spent 30 years building one great institution, The Washington Post.

Mrs. Harriman made it the way women used to make it — by illustrating romance and linking herself to power.

ful men, extracting elements of their personas to make them her own. (She assumed Winston Churchill's deep, rolling cadences and talk of "Nabrrrr-zis.") Mrs. Graham inherited a newspaper but then remade it and herself the way women in the modern age do, by grit, intelligence and hard work.

Mrs. Harriman was angry about biographies by Christopher Ogden and Sally Bedell Smith that dwelled on the playgirl years. Unlike Mrs. Graham, who was startlingly honest in her book, Mrs. Harriman wanted her biographers to explain how she and her father-in-law Winston Churchill won the war, and how she revived the

Two fabulous transformations.

Democratic Party in the 80's. "Pamela wanted to be adored, and later respected," said Mr. Ogden. "Kay Graham wanted to be understood."

Mrs. Harriman will never be seen as a great figure in the world of diplomacy. But she will be seen as a great figure in the world of salons — present at virtually every important juncture in the history of her time.

If you read about Mrs. Harriman to learn the secret of her allure, you will be disappointed. The vixen was a nano. It must have been hard to fetch so many slippers, mix so many martinis, puff so many pillows, tilt so many umbrellas to guard her from the sun, and look so adoring, no matter how tedious the man.

Mrs. Harriman's work was never done. Lovers disappointed her. Stepchildren loathed her. Relatives sued her. There lurked always, for her, the fear that she was an object of fascination, but also ridicule.

At her funeral, there was more rolling of eyes than drying of eyes, when the President called her legacy "the growing promise of a Europe undivided," and repeated Jacques Chirac's description of her as the best ambassador to France since Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson.

But those who are reading Mrs. Graham's book and thinking about her life are not rolling their eyes. They are admiring a woman who did not owe her importance to seduction. There was more than one way for a woman to rule in Georgetown.

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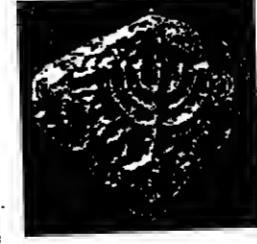
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SILVER DINAR, minted during Bar Kochba war 135 C.E., with the inscription "FREEDOM FOR JERUSALEM."



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Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks.

James A. Baker 3d, Secretary of State under President George Bush, is honorary chairman of the James A. Baker 3d Institute for Public Policy at Rice University.

FILM

# The Fight Went 8 Rounds, The Film Took 22 Years

**It was meant to be a black 'Woodstock,' but Ali ended up dominating both the screen and the ring.**

By WILL JOYNER

**M**ANY directors can say truthfully that they lived with a movie for a long time. Few can mean this as literally as Leon Gast, whose documentary "When We Were Kings," a vérité study of Muhammad Ali's unlikely recovery of boxing's top title in 1974, opened on Friday.

In the late 1970's and early 80's, after financing for the movie had disappeared in a web of shaky deals and political intrigue, Mr. Gast shared his apartment on West 86th Street in Manhattan with about 300,000 feet of film and 100,000 feet of audio tape that he and his 40-member crew had brought back from Kinshasha, Zaire. That's where the 32-year-old Mr. Ali scored one of boxing's biggest upsets, knocking out George Foreman, a devastating puncher six years his junior, to regain the title his draft-evasion conviction had forced him to give up seven years before.

"There were boxes everywhere in this place," Mr. Gast, a boyish 60, recalled recently, gesturing to the warren of pleasant rooms that he now shares with his wife, Geri, and their dog, Scamp. "The closets were filled. So was my bedroom."

At this point, "When We Were Kings" is a lean, intense 90-minute film that has attracted much praise. (It was shown in theaters for a week in October, to qualify for Oscar consideration, and last week it received an Academy Award nomination. It has already been honored by the New York Film Critics Circle, the Los Angeles Film Critics Association and the National Society of Film Critics as best documentary of 1996.)

But an account of how the film came to exist at all is a story almost as outsize as its primary subject, Mr. Ali, who today is silenced by Parkinson's disease but in 1974 was one of the world's most brilliant talkers, especially on issues of black identity.

It is a story about the nuances of race, the vagaries of the entertainment industry and the whims of American celebrity. On a personal level, it is a story of the sometimes quixotic perseverance of Mr. Gast and the lawyer and music-management figure David Sonenberg, who eventually became the film's execu-



Howard L. Bingham/Gramercy Pictures  
Mr. Ali in Kinshasha, Zaire, before the big fight.

utive producer, in the face of large legal and technical obstacles.

As Mr. Gast and Mr. Sonenberg tell it, this story starts in late 1973. A group of promoters, including Don King, had convinced Mobutu Sese Seko, the autocratic leader of Zaire, that his country should sponsor both the Ali-Foreman fight and a music festival that would bring together African performers and Americans like James Brown, B. B. King and Miriam Makeba. Also envisioned was a film that would serve as a sort of black "Woodstock."

Mr. Gast, who had made several movies on Latin music and was working on documentaries about the Grateful Dead and the Hell's Angels, inquired about the job of director. At first, he was tripped up by a racial consideration. "King felt that a white person wouldn't have the sensitivity or sensibility to make a film about black performers in Africa," recalled Mr. Gast.

With the stipulation that half his crew be black, he ended up getting the job anyway—Mr. King, a man of great chutzpah, was finally impressed by Mr. Gast's chutzpah in dealing with the Hell's Angels. "The

day they said I had the job, I hired a crew, went down to Deer Lake, Pa., and started shooting Ali at his training camp," he said. "It was always an intention to include the fighting, but the film wasn't supposed to be what it became."

The date for the fight, billed as the Rumble in the Jungle, was Sept. 25, 1974; the festival was to take place on the three days before. Mr. Gast was told that the film and the festival were being financed by a British company, International Films and Records.

The Americans arrived in Kinshasha in early September. Then on Sept. 20, just five days before the fight, the whole production suffered a significant setback when Mr. Foreman was cut above his right eye in a sparring session. This meant that the fight had to be postponed for about six weeks. Because of the musicians' obligations elsewhere in later days, the music festival was forced to proceed. But just as it was to start, in a stadium that could hold 100,000 people, most of the thousands of journalists and other Westerners who had come to Zaire were abruptly leaving.

"The money from the gate was going to be the money I had for post-production, but there was no money," said Mr. Gast. "The only people who showed up on the first night were people who worked in the embassies. Then they made it a free festival."

To protect Zaire's \$14 million investment, Mr. Mobutu in effect prevented Mr. Ali, Mr. Foreman and their entourages from leaving the country, so Mr. Gast turned his cameras on the fighters. At the time, Mr. Foreman was not the affable figure he is on television commercials today; for the most part, the young champion, who clearly did not feel comfortable among the African people, appeared only at news conferences. Mr. Ali, on the other hand, adored and was adored by the Africans, and he welcomed all the attention he could get.

In 1967, Mr. Ali had refused induction into the Army because of his status as a minister of the Nation of Islam and had been forced to relinquish his title and retire from boxing after he was convicted of draft evasion. In 1971, the Supreme Court had overturned that conviction (he had been allowed to resume fighting in late 1970), but it had taken him several years to work his way back to the top of his game, both as a boxer and as an unorthodox spokesman for black nationalism.

In Zaire, he allowed Mr. Gast's crew to follow him in the streets as he led the people in the chant "Ali, bomaye," which means "Ali, kill him," and to spend hours in his villa, where he held forth eloquently on the pan-African mission of Muhammad Ali. It is these rare, intimate scenes that 23 years later make "When We Were Kings" such an unusual film; in them, Mr. Ali speaks—sometimes in banter but often in the quiet, firm tones of confession—about how black Americans needed to take responsibility for their own lives.

On Oct. 30, in a fight held at 4 A.M. because of the closed-circuit broadcast to the United States, Mr. Ali stunned virtually everyone around the globe with an interest in boxing: instead of "dancing" away from Mr. Foreman's attack, as he had said he would do, he went to the ropes and absorbed blow after blow until the younger man was spent. Then he somehow shook off the punishment and mounted an attack of his own, and his comeback was complete.

Back in New York, Mr. Gast faced financial and creative catastrophe. When he and his lawyer, Mr. Sonenberg, tried to get International Films and Records to reimburse money that the film maker had laid out in Zaire, they found that there was no such company on record in Britain. "After the better part of a year," said Mr. Sonenberg, "we found it in the Cayman Islands." The stockholder of record was Stephen A. Tolbert, the Finance Minister of Liberia and a member of that country's ruling family, which was soon swept from power in a bloody coup.

Mr. Gast visited Liberia and met with Mr. Tolbert, who promised to come up with money to finish the movie, but it was not forthcoming as the political climate in Liberia shifted, and Mr. Sonenberg sued the shell corporation. By 1978, Mr. Gast owned the boxes of film and audio tape, but the prospects of fashioning a movie out of it all were increasingly discouraging. It was clear that such a film should center on Mr. Ali, and the market was saturated. "Ali was king of the world," explained Mr. Sonenberg. "You could see him on TV on a regular basis, doing his thing."

For most of the next decade, Mr. Gast made a living primarily by working on the productions of other people, including his friend the documentary maker Barbara Kopple, but at home he concentrated on the material from Zaire. Because he could not afford to rent an editing room, he moved an editing unit into his study. "It wouldn't fit through this door, so I had to get a guy with an electric saw to cut this out," Mr. Gast said, jumping up from a sofa to point out

an irregularity in a wall. In the mid-80's, he acquired a sophisticated video-editing system and began the lengthy task of transferring the film to videotape, so that he would have greater flexibility in putting together sequences to show potential backers. He also occasionally sent segments to Mr. Ali, who loved what he saw. "At one point," Mr. Gast said wistfully, "I got a telephone call from him. He said, 'Do you know who this is?' I said, 'Do you remember me?' He said, 'Yeah, you're the skinny, ugly guy.'"

Mr. Gast's luck began to shift in 1986 when he asked Mr. Sonenberg, who had stopped practicing law and had become a successful manager of rock and rap artists, to help him negotiate with someone who wanted to invest in the film. Mr. Sonenberg quickly realized that no investment agreement would be possible until numerous music-copyright questions were settled. He believed that he could do this, and he began to regain interest in the film as he watched the sequences Mr. Gast had put together.

Soon, Mr. Sonenberg decided to finance completion of the movie with more than \$400,000 of his own money, and "When We Were Kings" began to take shape. He found room in his offices for Mr. Gast to work. The boxes of film stock and audio tape were shifted to the basement of Mr. Sonenberg's Riverside Drive town house.

But even when an initial video version of the film was completed, in the early 1990's, their troubles were far from over. Because they wanted the movie to have a theatrical release, they had to return to the original film stock and piece together a 16-mm copy, then have that blown up to 35-mm. They also had to acquire the right to use broadcast tape of the fight, which Mr. Gast had not been allowed to film because of the contract for the 1974 closed-circuit feed, and have the quality of that tape enhanced.

Most important, they realized that as compelling as such an intimate window onto the 70's was, the film somehow had to be "brought into the 90's," to attract a young audience. Mr. Sonenberg believed that this could be done, in part, through the addition of contemporary music. "I had these rap artists who, as we were working on the film in the late 80's and early 90's, were coming in and had no idea who Muhammad Ali was," he said. "But they would sit here for hours looking at the stuff."

In addition to the original festival music, "When We Were Kings" (the title, created by Mr. Sonenberg, is an unspecific, unabashedly nostalgic evocation of the 70's) includes two new songs, one performed by Brian McKnight and Diana King, the other by assorted rap stars, including the Fugees.

Another idea was offered by the Hollywood director Taylor Hackford, who had done a rough cut. Mr. Hackford thought that the film might be helped by the insertion of present-day interviews with experts who could comment on the significance of the Ali-Foreman fight and Mr. Ali's place in American history. He suggested Norman Mailer and George Plimpton, who had been in Zaire as journalists; Spike Lee, and the Ali biographer Thomas Hauser. Mr. Gast and Mr. Sonenberg hesitantly allowed Mr. Hackford to film these interviews, then warmed to the idea when they saw the results.

A year ago, Mr. Gast was invited to show "When We Were Kings" at the Sundance Film Festival. He picked up the final print of the film the night before he was to fly to Utah. The next day, his taxi had a flat tire on the way to Kennedy International Airport. He caught the flight, but soon after takeoff, the airplane had to return to Kennedy after colliding with a flock of birds. Then a snowstorm immobilized New York. Mr. Gast had to call Sundance and ask them to delay his film's first screening before an audience.

Mr. Gast made it to Utah the next day. "When We Were Kings" was shown and generally admired. And in the next weeks, Mr. Sonenberg received 17 lucrative offers to buy the movie. He eventually accepted an offer from Gramercy Pictures, a division of Polygram, which also agreed to a recording deal.

What is it that Mr. Gast feels as he finally watches other people embrace "When We Were Kings"? Triumph? Vindication? He paused, then said that perhaps he could best answer with this Sundance anecdote: "There weren't many African-Americans in Park City, Utah, except for people with the film companies. But there was one woman. I had watched her come in with a child to a screening, and she sat through the question-and-answer period. Then she came up and stood off to the side. Finally, I said: 'Yes? How did you like the film?' I'd say she was in her 60's. Her response was, 'Never in my life could I have imagined white bands crafting such black pride.' And she started to cry. And my wife, who was standing there, started to cry. And I started to work away the tears. Then this guy who had been watching this whole thing stuck out his hand and said, 'I'm Michael Kuhn, president of Polygram Filmed Entertainment, and I want this movie.'"



Howard L. Bingham/Gramercy Pictures (Ali)

## INITIALLY SPEAKING

BY MATT GAFFNEY / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

**ACROSS**

- Suffix with land or city
- Hanged
- Unhitched?
- Clio contender
- Attack
- Like socks in a drawer
- Noted guitarist
- Some learning
- Kernal
- The Thames borders it
- Word of reproach
- Tiny type size
- Numbskull
- Bandleader Paul
- Roman mine
- Atom
- Chiang—shek
- Marcus and George
- Four-time lindy winner
- Noted youth grp.
- Mujeres, Mexico
- Furtive sort
- They don't want to fight
- Should
- Attached at the base, botanically
- Druggie
- Early empire builder
- Recipe amt.
- Italian city where Giotto painted
- "Surprised by Joy" autobiographer
- Metric weights
- It may be high in the afternoon
- Count
- Introductory material
- Loss by decay
- Wasn't sociable
- Strike location
- General announcement?
- Stagger
- Not the best service
- "My Little Chickadee" star
- Medieval weapon
- Laugh syllable
- Artillery shell component
- A substantial amount of Louisiana
- Goes around
- Tricked
- Rolls
- Vitamin C source
- Refuse
- No longer stuck on
- Understanding words
- Three-time N.F.L. M.V.P.
- Understanding
- Computer offering
- Not be fast
- They're out in a game

**DOWN**

- Buffalo wing?
- Modern information medium
- Tiny amount
- Where gaelto was invented
- Like a member of the U.S.N.
- Sober-minded
- Connex achievements
- Kind of comb
- City area
- "Fraser" character
- Lions' prey
- Indians with a sun dance
- Got a flat boot?
- "—deal!"
- Some government appropriations
- The plus column
- Pin down
- Kind of oil
- Ogle
- The Courtship of Miles Standish character
- Travel (about)
- Drop acid?
- Preceded
- Travels back and forth
- Abbr. in a help wanted ad
- Early 80's sitcom
- "Othello" courtesan
- Name in 1993 news
- Bill the Cat pronunciation, in the funnies
- Alibi—(diars. of a sort)
- Shanghai
- G.L. entertainment
- Greek cafe
- Shrove-tide dish
- Legal grounds for action
- Poetic preposition
- Gray and Moran
- Argot
- Getting around well
- "My gal"
- The best
- Kind of estimate
- Got a flat boot?
- "—deal!"
- Some government appropriations
- The plus column
- Pin down
- Kind of oil
- Ogle
- The Courtship of Miles Standish character
- Travel (about)
- Drop acid?
- Preceded
- Travels back and forth
- Abbr. in a help wanted ad
- 103 Ho-hum TV fare
- 104 Adlai's '56 running mate
- 105 Like some apartments
- 106 Most likely winners
- 109 Buns
- 110 Rat—
- 111 Poky
- 113 Start of a classic Latin quote
- 116 Broodmare
- 117 Had fare
- 118 Med. specialty
- 119 Tiny terror
- 120 — Saud (former Mideast leader)

**ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE**

PLACID SCOSTI ULULATTE  
 AURORA WAYER PERQUITINE  
 SHOOKYDORUMS BABYFACE  
 SAUC SPILL GEMIE BAL  
 ASPIRE INNAURATA SASE  
 DEBOF NEG ENAYO CHEER  
 OCS TIBD ANDYS SHODDY  
 GERO ARTE GIAL  
 SUTHERN DEARBHEART VON  
 PHRASE OVAL ARIF STILE  
 OBER TUBES GRIFP ANDA  
 MOWET VON CAPE BUNGER  
 KYD BIEHLOVE LANTRY  
 LIGES ANER UNDO  
 ASPIRE PATIL BCCI DAR  
 CEARS TILAC ANS CRIVE  
 LURE SUGANSAGAS JUPAC  
 GLE LURE PAINE FORA  
 FOMPLETS LITTLEBORN  
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# Lessons from a landscape architect

## Who says conservation-minded development has to cost more? Esther Hecht interviews a leading American urban planner with close ties to Israel

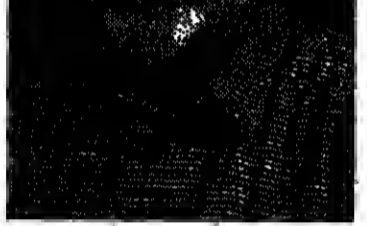
A visitor to the cave of Elijah can gaze from Mount Carmel at nearly the same vista that inspired the prophet 3,000 years ago. Now, however, that view is in danger of being blocked by new hotels.

"In the long run, in 100 to 1,000 years, the historical landscape will be more important [as an attraction to tourists] than hotels," said Carl Steinitz, who has been a professor of landscape

US) that really wakes people up is that if they don't act in the next 15 years, there won't be anything left to save," Steinitz said. "And that's true of the area between Tel Aviv and Haifa."

In the early 80s, Steinitz, with architect Moshe Safdie (then at the GSD), helped lead the Harvard-Jerusalem project—a set of studies that influenced local planners to scrap some designs that would have had disastrous results for the city.

Steinitz's former colleagues and students—including Shlomo Aronson, Nurit Lisovsky and Uri Shefir—are all prominent in architecture, landscape architecture and urban planning here. Like him, they are intensely concerned about what it will be like to live here 10, 20 or 100 years from now.



Steinitz: Conservation and national security can go hand in hand.

architecture and planning at the Harvard Graduate School of Design since 1973. "But who is worrying about the long run and how that affects the short-run decisions of development?"

In fact, the landscape of the entire country is changing in similar ways and it's mainly a matter of short-sightedness, according to Steinitz, whose close personal and professional ties with Israel bring him here on frequent visits. "The finding of our studies [in the

But Steinitz is no prophet of doom spouting jeremiads. He brings a message of hope. He has devoted much of his academic and professional career to improving methods by which planners and designers analyze information about large land areas and make decisions about conservation and development.

The bottom line, illustrated in his recent talk at Harvard alumni at the Jaffa office of Uri Shefir Architects, Ltd., was that development with conservation is not significantly more expensive than unfettered development. But it requires meticulous forethought, including consideration of seemingly esoteric details like how a road cutting an area in two would lead to the extinction of a species of wildlife.

Yet conservation need not be at the expense of population growth, Steinitz believes. Even Israel has room for considerable

growth. "The problem is that the conservation is not being done first or even at the same time" as the major development projects.

He described a recent US-based research project on how urban growth and change in the rapidly developing area between San Diego and Los Angeles would affect the region of Camp Pendleton, a Marine Corps base of immense strategic importance. The area has the highest biodiversity of any area in the US, and apart from Las Vegas, it is the fastest-growing area in terms of population. There are one million residents now; this number is expected to double in the next 30 years.

In many ways the Camp Pendleton region, which is one-third the size of Israel, is similar to this country. As more and more land is paved, increasing amounts of rainfall are lost in runoff to the sea and there is a growing danger of flooding. And, as in the Tel-Aviv-Haifa coastal strip, in the course of a generation or two, an unbuilt area with urban centers is becoming one sprawling urban area dotted with isolated, unbuilt "natural areas."

Steinitz has been using computer programs to project change since he came to Harvard in 1966. But the Camp Pendleton study was the first in which all the data were already available on computers. And though in the past such projects were undertaken by researchers at the same institution, this study was conducted on the Internet by people working at half a dozen institutions.

Perhaps the most daunting finding of the study was one related to national security. A storm in 1993 generated a flood that dumped mud a meter deep on



Urban sprawl around Haifa: 'If Israel doesn't act in the next 15 years there won't be anything left to save,' says landscape architect Carl Steinitz.

Camp Pendleton, closing down the base for nearly a month and thus creating a national emergency.

If the current trend of regional development were to continue without any conservation efforts, computer projections show that a storm of the same magnitude would be far more catastrophic for the base, burying it under double the amount of mud.

Like here, the Camp Pendleton region must have periodic fires to maintain its native vegetation. But one consequence of urbanization, Steinitz said with dry humor, is that residents build houses in the middle of fire-prone areas, from the middle to the upper reaches of the slopes, and then "insist on having firemen to put out fires." Constantly putting out fires leads to a build-up of

fuel, resulting in conflagrations like the ones that ravaged the western approach to Jerusalem in recent years.

IN DETERMINING the dangers to the natural species in the Camp Pendleton region, the researchers used three different theoretical approaches to evaluate biodiversity. Some effects of development on species are not immediately obvious. A planned road would break the cougar population around Camp Pendleton into two colonies. The resulting inbreeding within the colonies would lead to the cougars' extinction within a century.

The researchers also consulted residents of the area, asking about their visual preferences. Predictably, the residents' choice was for a scenic landscape. Today

there is a scenic route through the region, but current development trends would make virtually every road in the area uglier.

To get a clearer picture of problem areas, Steinitz's graduate students looked at "the most important map ever," made of two transparent layers, one with conservation priorities marked in green, another with development priorities marked in red. Where the original colors are visible, there is no conflict between conservationists and developers. Brown indicates areas of conflict.

The students came up with a plan that reduces the urban sprawl and concentrates development in a new urban center built around parks. They also presented a set of guidelines for further development. "If you follow the

rules, it won't be necessarily wonderful, but it won't be terrible," as it would be without any conservation efforts, Steinitz said.

They also figured out what it would cost to buy the priority land needed for conservation, set up the guidelines and provide the necessary infrastructure. The total cost of all the conservation efforts is \$270 million. This outlay would save the state \$250m. needed to divert floodwater from Camp Pendleton if no conservation were undertaken. The difference in cost is negligible, but the difference in quality of life would be vast.

The entire Camp Pendleton project can be accessed at: <http://www.GSD.harvard.edu/BRC/BRC.html>

### LAW REPORT

## Pornography versus art

By ASHER FELIX LANDAU  
In the Supreme Court, sitting as a High Court of Justice, before the President Justice Aharon Barak, and Justices Eliyahu Mazza and Mishael Cheshin, in the matter of Station. Film Company Ltd., and another, petitioners, versus the Films and Plays Censorship Board and the Interior Minister, respondents (H.C. 4804/94).

The Films and Plays Censorship Board authorized, by majority decision, the screening of the film *L'Empire des Sens* before adults only, subject to the excision of 10 short scenes.

The showing of these excerpts was a matter of some seconds, but the board ruled they were pornographic, and there was a near certainty they would seriously offend public feelings and damage the foundations of our society.

The exhibitor submitted, in the main, that the film had artistic value, and should therefore be screened in its entirety.

JUSTICE BARAK, delivering the first judgment and citing several precedents, first emphasized the basic right of freedom of expression, "the very soul of democracy."

On the other hand, like all basic rights, it was not absolute. Thus the limitation of pornography would be justified if its publication would create a near certainty of damage to the public welfare.

He then closely examined several Israeli, American, English, Canadian, and West German precedents and texts dealing with the meaning of pornography and obscenity, and the tests to be applied in restricting their publication.

The distinguished American Justice Brennan had held that "sex and obscenity are not synonymous... The portrayal of sex e.g. in art, literature, and scientific works, is not in itself sufficient reason to deny material the constitutional protection of freedom of speech and press."

The authorities, the President continued, furnished the necessary guidance to the board's considerations. Thus the US Supreme Court had posed the question "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest."

that "judging obscenity by the effect of isolated passages upon the most susceptible persons might well encompass material legitimately treating with sex, and so it must be rejected as unconstitutionally restrictive of the freedom of speech and press."

Or "One may not take individual parts of the work out of context and examine them separately to see if they merit criminal proceedings."

Justice Barak also mentioned the well-known examples of *Lawrence a Lady Chatterley's Lover*, *Joyce's Ulysses*, and *Cleland's Fanny Hill*, to which the courts had applied the above tests.

Finally, it had been held "Artistic expression rests at the heart of freedom of expression, and any doubt in this regard must be resolved in favor of freedom of expression."

It was true, he said, the court was not the board, its function being to review the reasonableness of the board's decision. However, there was ample material before the board to establish the artistic value of the film which had received prizes in major exhibitions, and was favorably reviewed in numerous leading papers such as the *Times* and *Newsweek*.

Nevertheless it did not first consider the film as a whole with special regard to its artistic value, as the law required it to do, and then decide on the influence of the 10 pornographic passages.

Its decision to excise those passages without doing so was unreasonable, and there was no alternative but to set it aside. He proposed, therefore, that the petition be allowed, and that the permit be granted for screening before adults only, subject to the excision of two passages to which the petitioners agreed.

JUSTICE MAZZA concurred. Justice Cheshin dissented from his colleagues. He did not accept the dual test laid down by the President requiring the board to act in the two successive stages mentioned.

That approach, he said, was applied in the precedents to criminal proceedings for publishing obscene material. Such proceedings were fundamentally different from those of a public board, for a criminal trial required the judge to interpret the particular Law involved, and the procedure referred to was held appropriate for that purpose.

The board was in an entirely different situation. Section 6 (2)

of the Cinematograph Films Ordinance of 1927 empowers the board, "in its discretion, to grant, either with or without conditions, or withhold authority for the exhibition of any film or any part thereof..."

There was not a word about its procedures or how it must fulfill its task. It was also not limited to dealing only with pornography. There was no basis for imposing the procedure suggested. Of course, its discretion was not absolute, being limited by law to carrying out the objects of the Ordinance.

Where, however, it fulfilled its duties in good faith and in accordance with the accepted rules governing public bodies, there was no ground for the court's interference.

It was also important that the board, appointed by the Interior Minister, was widely representative of public opinion. It comprised four journalists, three writers and educators, two Middle East experts, four jurists, three teachers, a sociologist, a police officer and two civil servants.

The primary importance of the basic right of freedom of expression was not in doubt, but it was not absolute.

The court, whose power of review was also unchallenged, should be cautious in intervening

### EARTHLY CONCERNS

## Deadly rabbit virus escapes from its cage

By DVORA BEN SHAIUR

Tens of thousands of rabbits are dying in Australia in the wake of a deadly rabbit virus that is running rampant through the continent. The virus, called "rabbit calicivirus," escaped from a research facility on Wardang Island off the southern coast of Australia three months ago and is already, experts say, completely out of control.

It is believed that birds were the vector that carried the virus from the island to the mainland.

This is not the first setback Australia has encountered in its long fight against rabbits. These animals are not native to Australia but were imported, apparently from England, over a century ago. The prolific little lagomorphs rapidly reproduced on pasture lands actually threatened Australia's cattle and sheep industry. No amount of hunting and trapping seemed to be able to control their explosive population.

About 40 years ago, the Australians decided to launch biological warfare against the rabbits and imported a virulent strain of myxoma virus which causes a disease called myxomatosis in rabbits. But myxomatosis doesn't always kill the rabbit and there were survivors even in areas where at least 90 per cent of rabbits died. These survivors soon

recovered and they repopulated the continent with a strain of rabbits that were naturally immune to the virus.

So, the Australians had to equip their arsenal with a new weapon aimed at destroying rabbits. To this purpose they set up the



Tuned in? The news is bad for Australian bunnies.



research facility from which one strain of lethal rabbit virus has now escaped.

Researchers had already considered scrapping this particular virus because they doubted if they could control it once it was released. It now seems they cannot. Experts in Australia say that at this point no attempt is being made to get the genie back into the bottle because it has spread too far and too fast. Within a period of less than a month it had spread several hundred kilometers from the place where it was first detected. Now it looks as if it will be pandemic throughout the continent.

Although the Australians want to cut back the ever expanding rabbit population they do not want to totally wipe out the rabbit population because doing so would be a possibly fatal blow to foxes and other predators that have learned to depend on rabbits as their chief food source. Already in the areas hardest hit there are reports of surviving predators and wildlife experts say it may get even worse.

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## BUSINESS

in brief

### January money supply up 3.4%

The nation's money supply rose last month by a relatively sharp 3.4 percent, according to data released yesterday by the Bank of Israel. The amount of cash stashed across the economy is up to NIS 17.5 billion after January's expansion, which marked the steepest monthly rise since July last year. Central bank officials responded calmly, however, saying that growth in money supply should be seen against the backdrop of declining inflation and interest rates. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

### Elta wins IDF radar tender

The IDF will receive a new radar for the detection of close-range ground and air threats devised by Israel Aircraft Industries' Elta subsidiary, executives said yesterday. The new radar, called EL/M-2129, is a ground-based system for security and paramilitary applications which detects and monitors movements in specific areas. Executives said the radar automatically spots moving targets such as vehicles, flying helicopters and even people at ranges of up to 10 kilometers.

Defense sources said the radar could be a tool in the fight against Hizbullah in south Lebanon and can also detect packages weighing as little as 20 kilograms. (AI executives said Elta won the contract in a competition that included several international firms, such as Thomson SA in Paris, the US firm IAL and a British company. *Steve Rodon*)

### KFC to open restaurant in Gaza

Gaza will soon get its first American fast-food outlet. A Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant will open next month near the beach in Gaza City, the franchise holder Haidar Abu Karsh said last week. The restaurant will serve chicken raised in Gaza but will import KFC's spices from Egypt.

He bought the franchise with two partners through an Egyptian firm for \$200,000 and has already sent employees to Egypt for training. PepsiCo Inc said last month it would spin off its restaurant operations, including KFC, by distributing shares to existing shareholders. *Reuter*

## Discount, gov't in feverish effort to hold offer in time

### Postponement might cause delay in Leumi, UMB offers

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

The 1996 financial statements of Mercantile Discount Bank and Discount Mortgage Bank will be included in Bank Discount's prospectus, as part of attempts by the bank and government to stand by the original plan to float a 17-percent stake in Israel's third largest bank during the first quarter this year.

A postponement of the issue is likely to cause a delay in the government's sale of Bank Leumi and United Mizrahi Bank's shares, which are currently planned for the second quarter.

MI Holdings general manager Meir Yacobson refused to comment on the issue.

The Securities Authority refused to approve Bank

Discount's prospectus last week, delaying the offering, which was due to take place this week. The authority has subjected the approval to the receipt of more information regarding the sum of additional allowances for doubtful debts in the fourth quarter.

During the last few days MI Holdings, Bank Discount, underwriters and the Securities Authority have negotiated ways of pushing forward the issue, which is based on the banks' financial statements for the first nine months of 1996.

According to Securities Authority regulations, the deadline for publishing a prospectus based on third-quarter financial statements is the end of February.

Yacobson said several alterna-

tives are being considered, including the inclusion of 1996 financial statements for Mercantile and Discount Mortgage banks.

The additional allowances for doubtful debts are mainly due to the building sector. The publication of the subsidiaries' results are expected to assist investors in deciding whether to take part in the issue.

"We are checking several alternatives, but everything is dependent on the Securities Authority's decision," Yacobson said.

MI Holdings and the Securities Authority initially requested Bank Discount to record the amount of additional provisions in the prospectus, but Bank Discount said it will take them several weeks to calculate the

exact figures. The issue, which is in the framework of the government's privatization plans, is expected to raise a total of NIS 650 million, of which NIS 170m. will be immediate. The bank has been valued for this offering at NIS 3.9 billion.

Meanwhile, MI Holdings intends to allow institutional investors that participated in the pre-sale of Bank Discount's shares last week to change their orders. The pre-sale closed at NIS 171 per unit, about 0.6 percent above the minimum price.

Capital market sources said the recent drop in Bank Discount's shares and reports of large provisions from the building sector have reduced the shares attractiveness.

## Tadmor: Gilo hasn't renewed Scitex bid

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

David Gilo, Israeli high-tech entrepreneur and CEO of DSP Communications, has not renewed his bid to buy a controlling share of Scitex Corporation Ltd., Scitex Chairman Dov Tadmor said yesterday.

"There has been talk that Gilo intends to make another offer, but we have not received one," Tadmor said in response to reports in *Ha'aretz* and *Globes* that claimed Gilo had renewed his hostile takeover bid for the ailing, Herzliya-based developer of digital printing and assorted communications products.

Tadmor said that at last week's board meeting Scitex's directors did not discuss the rumors regarding Gilo's reported plans to offer \$15 - \$17 per share in exchange for a controlling stake in the company.

Tadmor also denied other reports that International Paper has demonstrated an interest in unloading its 13.3% holding in Scitex.

Due to an agreement between the controlling shareholders, International Paper cannot sell its stake in the company without consent from Clal and Discount Investment Corporation.

Last week, Scitex posted 1996 losses of \$178.3m., compared to 1995 losses of \$34.5m.

In March, Gilo made an offer to pay \$20 a share for Scitex. He increased the offer to \$25 a share in April but dropped the bid in May after the company refused to sell.

Following the rebuff, Gilo said that he would "continue to monitor developments at Scitex closely."

So far, Gilo has not made any renewed offers.

Scitex, once considered the glory of Israel's high-tech industry, has been on a steady downward spiral since the end of 1992.

Back then, the company had some \$300m. in cash and its Nasdaq-traded shares hit a high of \$42.

But, as a result of the company's inability to stay ahead of the competition, its profits began to shrink.

The company's passive approach to meeting changes in the marketplace caused further damage.

Despite recovery plans Scitex's profits and profitability continued to deteriorate.

The company's stock, which has been steadily decreasing since December 1992, closed at \$9.50 on Friday.

Less than four weeks ago, the stock was trading at \$12.

Following the November release of the company's third-quarter results, Scitex announced a drastic restructuring program that included plans to fire 17% of the company's 3,700 employees. So far Scitex has cut 8% of its workforce.

Scitex's three divisions - graphic arts, digital video and digital printing - make such products as digital cameras and scanners, color workstations and professional inkjet color printers.

The company recently went through a spate of changes in top management, including the resignation of Patrick Karieva, who was hired seven months ago as CEO of Scitex America. The company denied reports that other top management would be resigning in the future.

## COMPANY RESULTS

### Tadiran net increases 64%

Tadiran Telecommunications, the manufacturer of advanced telecommunications equipment and systems worldwide, reported a 64 percent growth in net income last year to \$41.4 million from \$25.2m. in 1995.

Net income for the fourth quarter rose to \$3.7m. from \$3.6m. in the same period in 1995. Revenues for 1996 increased 20.9% to \$468.6m. from \$387.5m. Revenues for the fourth quarter increased to \$102.1m. from \$97.4m. Fourth quarter sales to Bezeq, its largest customer, fell to \$29m. from \$43m. in the same quarter in the previous year. In all of 1996, sales to Bezeq went up to \$216m. from \$193m. in 1995.

Export sales grew 55% in the fourth quarter to \$53m. from \$34m. in the same quarter of 1995. Export sales last year grew 46% to \$174m. from \$119m. In the fourth quarter, the company received new orders from Jamaica, Belgium, Scotland, Poland and other countries. *Galit Lipkis Beck*

### Adanim net up 18%

Adanim Mortgage Bank reported an 18.2% growth in net earnings last year to NIS 7.31m. from NIS 6.18m. in the same period in 1995. Net return on equity on an annual basis increased to 14.3% from 13.8%. Management said the growth in earnings is in line with the last few years' expansion in activities. Total assets grew to NIS 2.27 billion from NIS 2.06b. *Galit Lipkis Beck*



### Federal Express cargo service prepares to start flying here

A Federal Express plane lands at Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday, one of a number of trial flights which the cargo airline has arranged to make before it begins regular service to Israel. The cargo service, which is to begin next month, is to consist of four flights a week. *(Dan Osovsky/Israel Sun)*

## Medical services company offers phone-TV contact between doctor, patient

By JUDY SIEGEL

The Shahal emergency medicine company has unveiled the country's first home application of the integrated services digital network (ISDN) - a TV phone

that lets subscribers and Shahal center doctors see each other and speed diagnosis, overcoming heart patients' reluctance to seek help for every little pain.

The TV phone, manufactured by British Telecom, links up with Bezeq's ISDN lines to provide what is apparently the first such medical application anywhere in the world.

Images on the 12.7-centimeter color screen are very crisp and lifelike, but the service is not cheap: NIS 5,400 for the device plus NIS 480 (a special introductory offer) for the ISDN phone

line. Shahal, which has 40,000 subscribers around the country for its other services, said it does not intend to rent out the phones at present, but only to sell them.

The innovation, which yesterday elicited much interest, was kept carefully under wraps: Shahal staffers themselves were shown the new device only on Friday.

Prof. Arye Roth, a medical adviser for Shahal, noted that heart patients are typically reluctant to seek help when suffering symptoms, believing they will go

away. This makes the average time between suffering heart attack symptoms and going to the hospital about three hours.

The delay significantly increases the risk of death, as medications to dissolve blood clots in a coronary artery are most effective when administered shortly after the attack.

Shahal, which has until now offered a service transmitting electrocardiograms over a phone line, has reduced the delay time to an average of only 44 minutes among its subscribers.

The TV phone is expected to shrink this period even more. Patients with the device feel that medical staff are with them in their home rather than far away, and reduces anxiety about getting ill. Shahal officials said.

## Union Bank to cut workforce by 9%

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

Union Bank's management has announced a voluntary retirement plan which is aimed at shrinking its 1,100-strong workforce by up to 100 employees.

A bank spokesman emphasized that the plan, estimated at NIS 7 million, has nothing to do with the government's intentions to sell an additional 24-percent share of Union Bank to the Eliyahu Group.

The group, which already holds 60% of the bank, is very close to signing the agreement.

The plan is part of Union Bank's attempts to increase efficiency and cut back on surplus workers, mainly veteran employees.

Union Bank has not undergone any major cutbacks since the Shlomo Eliyahu Group acquired control of it from Bank Leumi and the government in 1993. Management is offering the workers retirement compensation of up to 180 percent of accumulated compensation, in addition to a salary during a three-month period of adaptation.

"The implication of this is that in most cases they will receive retirement compensation equivalent to 200%," management said. Emphasizing that the bank is operating with surplus workers, the spokesman said Union Bank has recently opened new branches without hiring new

workers. The bank intends to open branches in Netanya, Kfar Sava, Haifa and Rosh Ha'ayin, he said.

In recent years many of the country's banks have offered employees voluntary retirement plans.

Last year these plans led to the retirement of 140 workers at United Mizrahi Bank and 312 in Bank Leumi. Bank Discount also intends to offer its workers a plan of this kind.

Union Bank completed the first nine months of 1996 with an 8.2% rise in net profit to NIS 37m. from the same period in 1995.

The bank's net profits in the third quarter last year rose 64.4% to NIS 12m., mainly because of a drop in allocation for taxes.

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Japanese yen (100)	0.5516	0.5810	0.57	0.60
Dutch florin	2.8511	2.784	2.81	2.75
Swiss franc	1.7501	1.7784	1.72	1.773
Swedish krona	2.2543	2.212	2.24	2.36
Norwegian krona	0.4482	0.4555	0.44	0.47
Finland mark	2.5430	2.528	2.52	2.5717
Canadian dollar	0.4893	0.5084	0.48	0.524
Australian dollar	0.5132	0.5238	0.50	0.54
S. African rand	0.6883	0.6761	0.65	0.6212
Belgian franc (10)	2.4405	2.4739	2.39	2.6223
Austrian schilling (10)	2.784	2.5847	2.49	2.4882
Italian lire (1000)	0.9514	0.9838	0.88	0.77
Jordanian dinar	0.7226	0.764	0.74	0.83
Egyptian pound	0.0914	0.0981	0.09	0.0929
ECU	2.7910	2.5861	2.74	2.88
Irish punt	1.8961	2.0304	1.96	2.026
Spanish peseta (100)	4.8300	4.9100	4.80	4.7829
Portuguese escudo (200)	0.9400	1.0200	0.94	1.0324
Israeli sheqel	3.8242	3.8839	4.01	3.867
Israeli sheqel (100)	5.2439	5.3285	5.15	5.41
Israeli sheqel (100)	2.3186	2.3960	2.27	2.39

\*These rates vary according to bank. \*\*Bank of Israel.  
SOURCE: BANK LEUMI



# US Congress to consider trade ban with Syria

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Two senior House of Representatives members over the weekend introduced a bill to bar US companies from doing business with Syria and Sudan because they are listed by the United States as sponsors of terrorism.

The State Department lists seven countries as sponsors of extremist groups: Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Syria and Sudan. Legislation passed last

year barred US companies from making deals with those governments.

Reps. Bill McCollum, a Florida Republican, and Charles Schumer, a New York Democrat, said their bill would close a loophole in Treasury Department regulations implementing the law that exempted Syria and Sudan.

"This business as usual policy represents a step backwards in the effort to isolate Syria and Sudan,"

McCollum said. "The bill Mr. Schumer and I are introducing today strips the executive branch of the authority to issue regulations exempting transactions from the prohibition."

"There should be no higher priority for the United States in the battle against terrorism than the elimination of foreign government support for terrorists," he said.

"We cannot permit American

companies to invest billions in countries that we know to be sponsoring terrorism. If we are going to stop terrorist nations, we have to hit them where it hurts - their pocket books," Schumer said.

They said they knew of several U.S. firms including a major hotel chain and oil companies that were interested in doing business in Syria and Sudan, but they did not name them.

## Comex gold closes higher

By MICHAEL ZWERNER

Comex gold for current delivery closed at \$346.40 per ounce, compared with a close of \$342.50 on Thursday.

The most active March gold contract settled at \$346.40, up \$3.90. The April gold contract settled at \$346.70, up \$3.70 after trading in a range of \$342.70-\$348.60.

The most active March silver contract settled at \$5.252, up 11 cents, after trading in a range of \$5.130-\$5.275, and the May silver contract settled at \$5.307, up 11 cents.

April platinum closed up 2.4 at \$372.00 and March palladium finished down 3.25 at \$136.75. Grain futures at the Chicago Board of Trade (CBT) closed mostly mixed ahead of the long holiday weekend. Grain markets at the CBT will be closed today for President's Day.

Corn opened under steady levels and wheat opened slightly lower. Both markets later found some support and prices were mostly steady to firmer at mid-session. Shortly after, wheat saw some two-sided trade, while corn held in firmer territory.

At the close, however, both markets pared their gains and settled narrowly mixed. Some sources said wheat found support from ongoing news that Pakistan is expected to tender for a large amount of US wheat.

Sources said the question remains, however, whether Australia will receive any of the Pakistani business or whether the US will garner all of the 450,000 MT wheat tender.

A CBT floor source said, however, that the Pakistani news didn't have that much of an impact on the market.

Also supporting wheat were weather forecasts saying the southern Plains could see some dry conditions, sources noted.

At the close, March wheat futures closed up 1/2 a point at \$3.59-1/2 per bushel and March corn was down 1/2 at \$2.74 per bushel.

Soy complex futures at the Chicago Board of Trade (CBT) closed lower on Friday, amid profit-taking activity ahead of the holiday weekend, sources said. Soybeans and soy meal were firmer after midday on good fund buying, although the market couldn't hold onto its gains.

Soybeans pared gains and traded mixed late in the session. Losses were extended in soybeans as March closed down 4-1/2 at \$7.51 - near the session low of \$7.60. The session high was put in at \$7.67.

Soy-oil and soy-meal both closed lower in sympathy with soybeans.

While soybeans and soy meal have seen sharply higher prices of late, sources said that profit-taking weighed on prices.

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**PACIFIC MED INVESTMENTS**



**Truckers strike in Spain**  
Parked trucks line a major highway outside Bilbao, northern Spain, during the tenth day of a truck driver strike throughout Spain over the weekend. The truck drivers are demanding government subsidies for lower fuel prices and early retirement. (AP)

## Clinton donors joined Kantor's trade trips, paper

By ROBERT L. JACKSON

WASHINGTON - A study by the Boston Globe of campaign donations showed that six companies that were represented on former US commerce secretary Mickey Kantor's trips to the former Yugoslavia and several Asian countries contributed \$100,000 or more apiece around the time the trips occurred.

As the controversy over campaign donations continued to expand, Kantor said there was no connection between companies giving large donations to the Democratic Party and their selection to join in two overseas trade missions he led last year.

Kantor's trade missions followed larger ones led by his predecessor, the late Ronald Brown, which were sharply criticized by Republican lawmakers and some public watchdog groups for allegedly mixing government business with political fund-raising.

Kantor, who served as commerce secretary for nine months, said political donations were not sought or even hinted at from companies considered for participation on his trips.

"I had nothing to do with the selection of the 25 companies represented on those trips," Kantor said. "I had no idea who contributed and I couldn't care less."

Skeptics, however, scoffed at the suggestion the donations were a coincidence.

"Mickey Kantor is one of the smoothest politicians, sort of the president, in this administration," said Larry Klayman, director of the conservative Judicial Watch group, which has been critical of the missions. "For him to claim that he didn't know about [the contributions] is inconceivable."

Clinton administration officials have defended the series of trade missions, which included leading commerce officials and delegations of businessmen, as valuable tools for increasing American access to overseas markets and for helping US companies compete for international business.

Those participating had the opportunity to meet with top government and industry officials in the host nations.

Many major corporation executives angled for the chance to go along, and commerce officials have cited a succession of multi-million dollar agreements and contracts they said were brought to fruition by the missions.

Executives reached for comment about the Kantor missions said that the timing of the political donations they companies made was a coincidence and they opted that often they had given to Republicans as well.

Larry Hamilton, a spokesman

for Northrop Grumman, said there was "absolutely no connection" between Northrop's participation in a Commerce Department trip to Bosnia and Croatia last July and the company's \$100,000 donation to the Democratic Party seven weeks later.

"We support the political process under current law and believe the amount contributed was proper for a company of our size," Hamilton said.

Kantor, who has since relinquished the commerce post to incoming secretary William Daley, said he agreed that "we need to change the [campaign finance] system, but it's also unfair to excoriate folks at commerce who are trying to do their job promoting trade and bettering our country."

Press reports suggesting links between campaign gifts and trade missions or other administration benefits create "a public perception" of abuse that is misleading, he said.

"As a former board member of Common Cause, I care deeply about campaign finance reform," Kantor added.

"We're very careful about this."

The contributions analysis was conducted for the Globe by the nonpartisan Campaign Study Group of Springfield, Virginia (Los Angeles Times)

## ASEAN bloc seeks to expand EU trade

SINGAPORE (Reuters) - The European Union and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) agreed over the weekend to take a series of steps to boost trade and economic cooperation.

Trade has already quadrupled since 1980 between the 15-member EU - the world's largest trading entity - and the seven-member ASEAN, which aims to create its own free trade area by 2003, encompassing a population larger than Europe's.

"The developments taking place in the two regions give us optimism that there is a great potential for a further strengthening of our economic links," said a declaration at the end of two-day conference of foreign ministers.

In 1995, the value of ASEAN-EU trade reached \$86 billion, or four times what it was in 1980, when the two sides first signed an agreement to cement ties.

The declaration said the two regions "would initiate cooperation in customs matters" and arrange common industrial norms and standards.

They would share information on the creation of the Single Market in the European Union and the ASEAN Free Trade Area.

## TASE ROUNDUP

# Shares up on low CPI report

Mishtanim	Maof
259.87 ▲ 2.84%	266.97 ▲ 3.07%

Shares closed sharply higher on increased turnover yesterday, after the release of a lower-than-expected January Consumer Price Index, traders said.

"Investors were reacting to the lower-than-expected CPI and Wall Street's rise," said Danniella Finn, head of sales at Batucha Securities and Investments.

The benchmark Mishtanin index of top 100 shares rose 2.84%, or 7.18 points, to 259.87 on high all-share turnover of NIS 186 million against NIS 123m. on Thursday.

The Maof 25 blue-chip index closed 3.07% higher at 266.97. January's CPI, released on

Friday, rose 0.4%, compared with an 0.8% increase in December.

"The market was looking for a reason to rise, and it came with the CPI figure," said Danni Scharia of Capital Securities. "Despite that, we believe inflation may accelerate in the coming months, and the central bank will not lower the rates. The main question is what will happen with interest rates. The Bank of Israel is not expected to reduce its key lending rate by more than 0.3 percentage points."

The most active share of the day was Teva Pharmaceutical Industries, which surged 5.5% on a volume of NIS 11.3m. (Reuters)

## Portugal wants early EMU entry

By RICHARD WADDINGTON

LISBON (Reuters) - Portugal's ruling socialists and their main opposition united over the weekend to send a defiant message to the European Union that it was determined to form part of the single currency if it met the conditions for entry.

This was the clear aim of a symbolic vote in parliament, where the socialists and the center-right Social Democrats supported a motion backing Portugal's bid to join the first countries launching economic and monetary union (EMU) in 1999.

"There is a huge majority [in Portugal] in favor of monetary union," Prime Minister Antonio Guterres said during the debate, whose outcome was never in doubt as the two parties control 85 percent of the 230-seat parliament.

"It is a great national objective to be at the center of the construction of Europe... where our voice can count," said Guterres, whose center-left government has staked its political future on making the cut for monetary union.

The two parties tabled the joint motion in favor of monetary union after politicians in some northern European countries suggested that the so-called "Club Med" countries of southern Europe - Italy, Spain and Portugal - would do better to wait before joining EMU.

German bankers in particular fear that the entry of southern European countries, with no long tradition of financial discipline, could threaten the stability of the Euro, the future European currency.

But Portugal has said that if it passes the economic tests for

entry, set out in the European Union's Maastricht treaty, the EMU blueprint, then it will join the single currency.

"The only condition for entry to the Euro must be a country's ability to meet the criteria and the will of its people," said Guterres.

In a newspaper interview earlier, he dismissed fears that the inclusion of the Portuguese escudo in the single currency could weaken the Euro.

He said Portugal had given ample proof of its financial and economic health and an economy accounting for less than one percent of total EU activity was in any case too small to be an unsettling factor.

"Even those who are worried about the strength of the Euro... must recognize that the entry of Portugal into the initial 'hardcore' of monetary union in no way casts doubt on its solidity," Guterres told O Publico newspaper.

Portugal is arguably the best-placed economically of the three southern candidates, and most economic analysts believe that it has a good chance of meeting the terms, which include limits to the budget deficit and inflation.

Entry will be decided on the basis of a country's economic performance in 1997.

Although the Social Democrats are firmly pro-European, the debate marked the first one that they have aligned openly with the government in a parliamentary vote.

The motion expressed "concern and disagreement with public declarations of political leaders from other European Union countries that put in doubt the spirit and letter" of the Maastricht treaty.

## WHERE TO GO

Notices in this feature are charged at NIS 28.00 per line, including VAT. Insertion every day of the month costs NIS 820.00 per line, including VAT, per month.

**JERUSALEM**  
Conducted Tours  
**HEBREW UNIVERSITY**: Tours of the Mount Scopus campus, in English, daily Sun-Thur. 11 a.m. from Bronfman Reception Center, Sherman Administration Bldg. Buses 4a, 9, 23, 25, 26. For info, call 582-8119.  
**HADASSAH**: Visit the Hadassah installations, Chagall Windows. Tel. 02-6418333, 02-6778271.  
**TEL AVIV**  
Museums  
**TEL AVIV MUSEUM**, Andres Serrano: The Morgue, Soviet Photography from the Museum collection, Lucian Freud: selection of works, Tzvi Hecker: Sunflower, Portraits. By a group of Israeli artists. Virtual Reality: The domestic and realistic in contemporary Israeli art. **HELENA RUBINSTEIN PAVILION FOR CONTEMPORARY ART**, Shimon Ben-David and Arnon Ben-David. The Inverted Campaign. Hours: Weekdays 10 a.m.-6 p.m., Tue. 10 a.m.-10 p.m., Fri. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Meyerhoff Art Education Center, Tel. 0819155-8.  
**HAIFA**  
**WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA**, dial 04-8374253.

## GENERAL ASSISTANCE

**EMERGENCY PHARMACIES**  
Jerusalem: Superpharm, Maisha mall, 679-3280; Babel, Salah e-Din, 621-7515; Shualat, Shualat Road, 581-0108; Dar Al-Kawa, Herod's Gate, 628-2058.  
Tel Aviv: Pharma Dal Jebotinsky, 125 Ibn Gwiro, 545-2045; Superpharm Lev Dizengoff, 50 Dizengoff, 820-0678. Tel 3 a.m. Tuesday: Pharma Dal Jebotinsky, 125 Ibn Gwiro, 546-2040. Tel midnight: Superpharm Ramat Aviv, 40 Einstein, 841-3730; London Minimstore Superpharm, 4 Shefat Hamaalech, 896-0115.  
Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: Kupat Holim Maccabi, 49 Hahayil, Ra'anana, 740-7738.  
Netanya: Markaz, 36 Herzl, 892-2738; Hoffer, Hassaf, 23 Hassaf, 833-3312.  
Krayot area: Sabina, 24 Hagolan, Krayot Bialik, 873-5874.  
Herzliya: Clal Pharm, Beit Markezim, 6 Masli (on Sdorat Haqagan), Herzliya Phusik, 955-8472, 955-8407. Open 9 a.m. to midnight.  
Upper Merzassah: Clal Pharm, Lev Ha'ir Mall, 857-0468. Open 9 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**DUTY HOSPITALS**  
Jerusalem: Hadassah Ein Korem (internal, surgery, orthopedics, ENT); Misgav Ladach (obstetrics); Bikur Holim (pediatrics); Shaare Zedek (ophthalmology).  
Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Medical Center Dana Pediatric Hospital (pediatrics); Tel Aviv Medical Center (internal, surgery).  
Netanya: Larkado.

**POLICE** 100  
**FIRE** 102  
**FIRST AID** 101  
Magen David (ambulance) 01 (Hebrew) or 911 (English) in most parts of the country. In addition:  
Ahdut 8551333  
Ahdut 6251322  
Gonshaba 8604444  
Tel Sheva 6231333  
Tel Aviv 5481111  
Ezer 6324444  
Ezer 8622333  
Haifa 9512222  
Jerusalem 6291333  
Karmel 9854444  
\*Mobile telephone Care Unit (MCCU) service in the area, around the clock.

Medical help for tourists (in English) 177-022-9110  
The National Poison Control Center at Rambam Hospital 04-832-8205, 24 hours a day, for information in case of poisoning.  
Eran - Emotional First Aid, 1201, also: Jerusalem 551-0303, Tel Aviv 546-1111 (children/youth 896-1113), Haifa 867-22223, Beer Sheva 648-4333, Netanya 822-5110, Karmel 988-8770, Kfar Sava 767-4555, Hadera 834-6789.  
Wizo hotlines for battered women 02-651-4111, 03-546-1133 (also in Russian), 07-637-8310, 08-855-0506 (also in Amharic).  
Rappi Crisis Center (24 hours), Tel Aviv 523-4818, 544-6191 (men), Jerusalem 625-6558, Haifa 853-0533, Eilat 833-1977.  
Hadassah Medical Organization - Israeli Cancer Association support service 02-624-7878.

MISHTANIN LEADING 100 TASE ISSUES		LAST CHANGE		LAST CHANGE		LAST CHANGE	
Al Paper Mills	1954.0	2.8	Clal Insurance	3292.0	3.5	Clal Insurance	3292.0
Asafim	504.0	2.4	Clal Text	1190.0	0.0	Clal Text	1190.0
Bank Leumi	820.0	0.0	Clal Storage	928.0	1.7	Clal Storage	928.0
Bank Leumi B	2870.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi C	2309.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi D	1751.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi E	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi F	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi G	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi H	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi I	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi J	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi K	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi L	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi M	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi N	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi O	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi P	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi Q	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi R	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi S	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi T	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi U	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi V	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi W	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi X	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi Y	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0
Bank Leumi Z	1811.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0	0.0	Clal Text	1071.0

# Holon sinks Hap. Tel Aviv

By ELI GRONER

A big step forward for Hapoel Holon was a giant step backwards for Hapoel Tel Aviv. Tel Aviv's loss to Holon in last night's National Basketball League action sent it reeling towards relegation.

Meanwhile, Jerusalem moved into second place with a solid victory over Rishon, and Maccabi Tel Aviv and Givat Shmuel rolled to victories over Ramat Gan and Ra'anana, respectively.

Hap. Holon 91 Hap. Tel Aviv 78

One week after it appeared that Hapoel Tel Aviv had successfully avoided relegation, it appears that the celebrations were premature. Last night's road loss to Holon left the Tel Avivians with one foot in the second division, while Holon can breathe a little bit easier.

Yisrael Elimelech was a steady

force throughout, running the offense efficiently. Elimelech pounded the ball inside to Kobi Balout to the tune of 16 points or alternatively, found Derrick Hamilton (19) in one-on-one isolation situations.

The key to the game though, was a 10-0 second-half run sparked by Milt Wagner. Wagner came off the bench at the 9:30 mark with four fouls, after having done virtually nothing all game. He proceeded to dish a nifty assist to Hamilton before burying two consecutive three-pointers to break open a close game and give Holon a 65-56 lead.

Wagner finished the game with 19 points. Demetri Hill paced all scorers with 26.

Hap. J'lem 79 Mac. Rishon 75

A potential game-winning shot by Alex Nikolitz came up inches short and Jerusalem hung on for the nar-

row home victory. The win lifted Gadi Kedat's club into second place in the standings.

It was a game of runs, with both teams reeling off several. Motti Daniel (20 points) and Adi Gordon (21) proved to be the difference down the stretch.

Rishon, playing without the injured Doron Jamchee, focused primarily on James Gully in the paint. Gully came through, scoring 28 points and having his way with Jerusalem's big men - Dan Bingenheimer and Eyal Hai.

Moshe Brenner was a nice outside compliment to Gully, nailing several mid-range jumpers keeping the game close.

Mac. TA 91 Mac. RG 70

Tel Aviv vented out its pent-up frustration on Thursday's loss to Charleroi on the overmatched Ramat Gan visitors.

Oded Katash led Tel Aviv scorers with 20. Uri Cohen-Mintz had 22 in the loss.

Givat Shmuel 88, Ra'anana 73

Dennis Hopson and Gerald Paddio led Givat Shmuel to the road victory in the battle of the two middle-of-the-pack league newcomers. Bnei Herzliya will host Hapoel Eilat in tonight's featured matchup. The game will be broadcast at 8:50 on Channel 5.

**National Basketball League**

Maccabi Tel Aviv	14	0	28
Hap. Jerusalem	8	5	21
Gali Eylon	7	6	20
Hap. Eilat	7	6	20
Mac. Ramat Gan	6	8	20
Mac. Ra'anana	8	8	20
Givat Shmuel	6	8	20
Bnei Herzliya	8	7	19
Mac. Rishon	5	8	18
Hap. Holon	5	8	18
Hap. Tel Aviv	4	10	18

# Kiwis in trouble in third Test

CHRISTCHURCH (Reuter) - New Zealand were reeling at 95 for six wickets in their second innings at stumps on the third day of the third cricket Test against England at Lancaster Park yesterday.

After establishing a 118-run first-innings lead, New Zealand's batsmen failed to take advantage and wickets fell regularly through the final session.

At stumps, New Zealand led by 213 runs with two days to play.

Opening batsman Bryan Young caused a sensation in the final session by refusing to leave the wicket after being given out caught at silly mid off by Nick Knight from left-arm spinner Phil Tufnell.

Australian umpire Darrell Hair gave Young out, but after Young stood his ground and gestured the ball hadn't carried to Knight, Hair consulted fellow official Steve Dunne of New Zealand.

They confirmed the dismissal,

but TV replays suggested Knight had taken the catch on the bounce.

Young's 49 in 165 minutes off 135 balls was the only innings of substance as New Zealand's batsmen lost their way.

Spinners Tufnell and Robert Croft had done the damage, with two for 24 off 18 overs and two for 25 from 20 overs respectively.

Earlier England captain Mike Atherton became only the seventh English batsman to bat through a complete Test innings when he finished 94 not out in England's first innings of 228.

Atherton batted for 345 minutes, faced 225 balls and hit 10 fours before running out of partners when Andrew Caddick and Tufnell departed in quick succession after the lunch break.

Atherton began the day on 66 but the only solid support he received came from Croft, who made 31 in a

53-run stand for the seventh wicket.

**New Zealand 1st innings 348**  
England 1st innings 144

N. KNIGHT c Fleming b Aitken 14  
M. ATHERTON not out 94  
A. STEWART c Gidman b Aitken 15  
N. HUSSAIN c Parsons b Caine 12  
G. THORNTON c Caine b Caine 12  
D. BRADMAN c Parsons b Aitken 18  
D. GOUCH b Watson 18  
R. CROFT c Parore b Davis 16  
P. TUFTNELL c Young b Dool 10  
Extras (lb, 5lb, 1w) 10  
TOTAL 228  
Fall of wickets: 20, 46, 70, 104, 148, 198, 198, 210, 228  
Bowling: Geoff Aitken 18-3-74-1 (1w), Simon Doull 17-4-49-1, Heath Davis 18-2-50-1 (2w), Daniel Vettori 12-4-13-1, Chris Cairns 8-6-12-1, Nathan Astle 11-2-25-2.  
Overs: 84.4

**New Zealand 2nd innings**  
England 2nd innings 118

B. YOUNG c Knight b Tufnell 49  
A. PARORE c Stewart b Gough 11  
S. FLEMING c Knight b Tufnell 11  
N. ASTLE c Hamilton b Croft 5  
C. CAIRNS not out 5  
S. DOULL c Knight b Croft 5  
M. HORNE not out 4  
Extras (lb, 3lb) 8  
TOTAL 118  
Fall of wickets: 12, 61, 78, 91, 95  
Bowling: Darrell Hair 20-8-1, Andrew Caddick 20-8-1, Phil Tufnell 19-8-24-2 (1w), Gough 5-2-19-1, Phil Tufnell 19-8-24-2 (1w).  
Overs: 58.

# Senna's death caused by debris, photo suggests

LONDON (AP) - Five days before the start of a manslaughter trial arising out of the death of Formula One driver Ayrton Senna, comes photographic evidence which suggests the Brazilian's fatal crash may have been caused by a small fragment of debris on the track.

The Sunday Times has suggested a theory that Senna, driving on low tire pressure which would make his car vulnerable to bumps on the Imola track, spotted the fragment and tried to avoid it.

The paper suggested he then hit a bump he normally would have avoided and, at 190 mph (306 kph), crashed a wall. Senna suffered fatal head injuries.

According to the report, the photo has been passed onto the Williams Renault team and may be part of the defense case when owner Frank Williams and five others connected with the team and the race face a manslaughter charge starting Thursday.

According to reports, the prosecution has been brought on the basis that Senna's steering column had been shortened so he could see his instrument panel better and had been badly welded together. It is alleged that the column split in two just before Senna took the bend before the fatal crash on May 1, 1994.

The Sunday Times said there was no conclusive evidence that the steering column had anything more than a hairline crack before the race.



World-class winner

Britain's Greg Rusedski raises his hands in victory after stunning Andre Agassi 6-3, 6-4 on Saturday in the semi-finals of the \$303,000 Sybase Open in San Jose. Rusedski, ranked 39th, was to meet World No. 1 Pete Sampras in the final in the early hours of this morning. Fast-serving Rusedski's impressive victory over the game's best returner followed his straight set quarterfinal stamping of world No. 2 Michael Chang on Thursday. Defending champion Sampras coolly dissected Todd Martin 6-2, 6-3 in the other semi-final. At the \$1 million Dubai Open, No. 2 seed Thomas Muster of Austria beat top-seeded Croatian Goran Ivanisevic 7-5, 7-6(7/3) in yesterday's final. Sweden's rising star, Thomas Enqvist, clinched his first title of the season when top-seeded Marcelo Rios of Chile withdrew from the Marseille Open final with a thigh injury yesterday. Second seed Enqvist was leading 6-4, 1-0 in the second set when Rios, who had complained about a pain in his left leg after beating the unseeded Spaniard Sergi Bruguera in Saturday's semifinal, was forced to give up. Top seed Martina Hingis of Switzerland beat No. 3 seed from Germany, Anke Huber 6-3, 3-6, 6-3 to win the \$450,000 Paris Open crown yesterday, it was Hingis's fourth consecutive tournament win. (Reuter)

# Atherton carries his bat, joins elite

CHRISTCHURCH (Reuter) - England captain Mike Atherton yesterday became the seventh English player to bat through a completed innings (carry his bat) in Test cricket.

Atherton made 94 not out as England were bowled out for 228 in their first innings of the third Test against New Zealand at Lancaster Park.

It was the first time Atherton had completed a Test innings.

It is the 34th occasion an opening batsman has carried his bat through a Test innings.

The last time an English player did it was when Alec Stewart scored 69 not out of his team's 175 against Pakistan at Lord's in 1992.

The highest score by an opener batting through an innings was New Zealander Glean Turner's 223 not

out against West Indies in Jamaica in 1972.

Turner is also the youngest player to achieve the feat. He was 22 years 63 days when he scored 43 not out of 131 against England in 1969.

West Indian Desmond Haynes has batted through a Test innings three times, while Turner, Englishman Sir Leonard Hutton and Australians Bill Woodfull and Bill Lacey completed the feat twice each.

The other English players to bat through a complete Test innings are Bobby Abel (against Australia, Sydney 1891-92), Sir Pelham Warner (against South Africa, Johannesburg 1898-99), Sir Leonard Hutton (against the West Indies, The Oval 1950, and against Australia, Adelaide 1950-51), Geoff Boycott (against Australia, Perth 1979-80) and Graham Gooch (against the West Indies, Leeds 1991).

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**SCOREBOARD**

Wimbledon, Portsmouth v Leicester City or Chelsea, Derby County or Coventry City v Middlesbrough, Chesterfield v Wrexham. Matches to be played on March 5 and 6.

NBA - Saturday's results: Miami 125, Philadelphia 97; New Jersey 107, Washington 86; Atlanta 109, San Antonio 89; Milwaukee 92, Denver 87; Utah 95, Dallas 84; Portland 109, Houston 105.

NHL - Saturday's results: Hartford 2, Ottawa 1; Chicago 2, NY Rangers 1; Philadelphia 5, Pittsburgh 1; Phoenix 5, Boston 4 (OT); Colorado 3, St. Louis 2; NY Islanders 1, Florida 0 (OT); Calgary 3, Toronto 0; New Jersey 4, Montreal 1; Tampa Bay 4, Washington 1; Los Angeles 2, Edmonton 2 (OT); Vancouver 4, Anaheim 2.

BRITISH SOCCER - League and cup results yesterday: F.A. Cup fifth round: Bradford 0, Sheffield Wednesday 1; Leicester 2, Chelsea 2. Division Three: Hereford 1, Cardiff 1. Scottish F.A. Cup fourth round: Hearts 1, Dundee United 1.

F.A. CUP - Sixth round draw made yesterday: Sheffield Wednesday v

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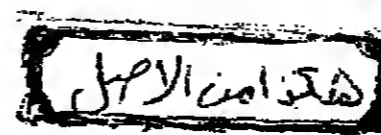
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בשמיים

WHAT'S ON

CRITIC'S CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

The Rubin Museum in Tel Aviv pays a tribute tonight to Israeli composer Paul Ben Haim on the centenary of his birth.

The performers are violinist Beatevsa Savaldi, Kolberg, violist Richard Assayas, cellist Irit Assayas, flautist Noam Buchman, soprano Cara Goodrich and pianist Rami Bar Niv (8:30).

The Israel Sinfonietta Beersheba opens, for the first time in its history, a subscription series in Dimona.



The first episode of 'The Death of Yugoslavia' will appear on the Discovery Channel at 10 p.m.

TELEVISION

ELANA CHIPMAN

'The Death of Yugoslavia' is a new six-part documentary series which will start on the Discovery Channel, tonight at 10:00.

The series comprises unique war reportage which gives a clear and authoritative account of how Yugoslavia fell apart.

Episode One, 'Enter Nationalism', describes the rise of Slobodan Milosevic.

FILM

ADINA HOFFMAN

★ ★ ★ 1/2 SECRETS AND LIES - The winner of the Palme d'Or at the 1996 Cannes film festival, Mike Leigh's latest movie is an eminently watchable, stylishly unremarkable character-driven melodrama.

TV

CHANNEL 1

6:30 News flash 6:31 News in Arabic 6:45 Express Time 7:00 Good Morning, Israel

CHANNEL 2

6:15 Today's Programs 6:30 Shekaf and Gogot (pt. 1)

CHANNEL 3

6:15 Today's Programs 6:30 Shekaf and Gogot (pt. 1)

JORDAN TV

14:00 Holy Koran 14:08 The Muppet Show 14:30 Captain Planet

MIDDLE EAST TV

7:00 TV Shop 7:00 The 700 Club 15:00 Gerbert

CHANNEL 4

11:30 Le Ballon D'Or (Final 1993) (pt. 1)

CHANNEL 5

11:30 Larry King 11:30 Larry King Tonight (Arabic)

CHANNEL 6

11:30 Today's Programs 11:30 Shekaf and Gogot (pt. 1)

CHANNEL 7

11:30 Today's Programs 11:30 Shekaf and Gogot (pt. 1)

CHANNEL 8

11:30 Today's Programs 11:30 Shekaf and Gogot (pt. 1)

CHANNEL 9

11:30 Today's Programs 11:30 Shekaf and Gogot (pt. 1)

CHANNEL 10

11:30 Today's Programs 11:30 Shekaf and Gogot (pt. 1)

CHANNEL 11

11:30 Today's Programs 11:30 Shekaf and Gogot (pt. 1)

PRIME TIME TV

Table with 8 columns (1-8) and 8 rows (19:30-23:00) listing TV programs like News flash, Local broadcast, The Bottle, etc.

MOVIE SHOWING (8)

22:00 Dans La Soiree (French, 1993) - a little girl's parents are divorced and she goes to live with her philosopher grandfather.

DISCOVERY (8)

6:00 Open University: The Mind of a Child; Purchasing Management, part 2

CHILDREN (8)

6:30 Cartoons 6:30 The Simpsons 6:30 The Simpsons

FAMILY CHANNEL (8)

6:00 Dallas 6:00 Dallas

MOVIES

Jerusalem Cinematheque Mean Streets 5 \* North By Northwest 7 \* Pandora's Box 7 \* Beckett 9 \* The Stranger 8:30

Goodnight 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 \* Jane Eyre 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 \* G.G. Gil 4:45, 7:15, 9:45

OR AVVA RAV CHEN Ransom 8:45, 8:30 Messias 8:45, 8:30

RAV CHEN Ransom 8:45, 8:30 Messias 8:45, 8:30

RAV CHEN Ransom 8:45, 8:30 Messias 8:45, 8:30

RAV CHEN Ransom 8:45, 8:30 Messias 8:45, 8:30

RAV CHEN Ransom 8:45, 8:30 Messias 8:45, 8:30

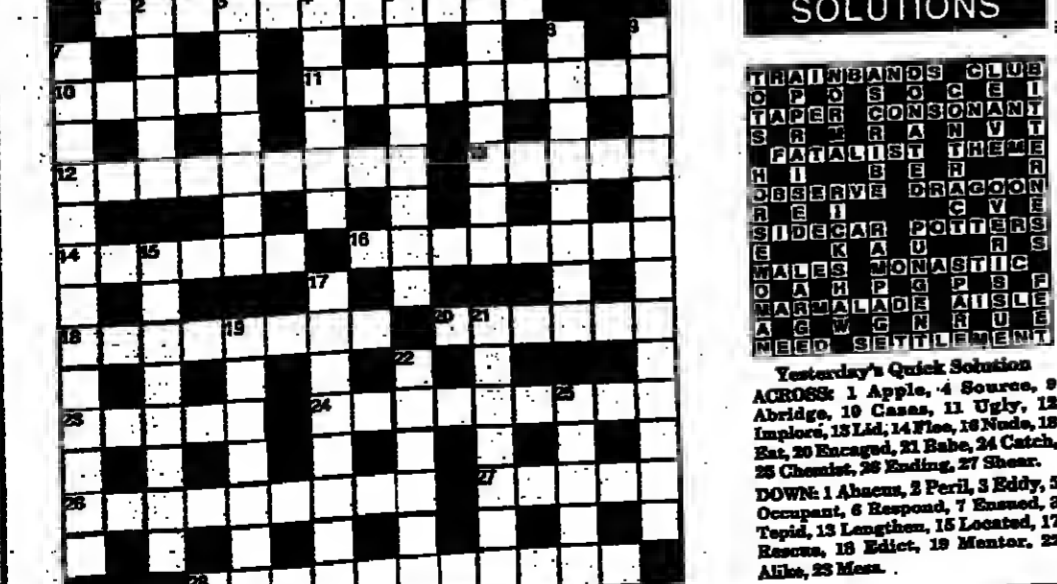
RAV CHEN Ransom 8:45, 8:30 Messias 8:45, 8:30



CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

ACROSS 1 Reveals another sound that goes on and on (11) 10 Concerning young lady, some say, not common (5) 11 Odd person deviating from normal conduct (9)

SOLUTIONS



QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS 1 Dimmy (5) 4 Motive (5) 10 Reissue (7) 11 Restate (5)

General Assistance and Where To Go listings now appear on Page 9.

Large vertical advertisement on the left side of the page for 'STOCK ROOM' and 'SEEKS EXPERIENCED STOCK POKER FOR SENIOR MANAGEMENT POSITIONS'.

